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DEATH OF THE NEW DEAL

Walter Dean Burnham

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POST-BIBLICAL CHRISTIANITY

Daniel Callahan

RESHUFFLE IN BONN

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NEWS AND VIEWS

A theological commission, newly formed by the American bishops, will soon frame an official reply to Cardinal Ottaviani's 10-point inquiry about "strange and audacious opinions" in the post-conciliar Church. The letter, inquisitorial in spirit, went out to all bishops some weeks ago. Coadjutor Archbishop Veuillot of Paris said the bishops of France agreed that parts of the letter were negative, and did not "correspond to our psychological make-up." The French hierarchy has decided to send a formal reply, the gist of which will be that a certain amount of "effervescence" seems only normal, and that the Cardinal should not become overly worried.

•

On New York's Lower East Side, elections were held June 5th to set up a local committee to run the anti-poverty program for the area. Though about 75,000 residents have an annual income of less than $4,000, only 2,620 votes were cast With the low vote, slates formed and backed by the Catholic Church won in 7 of the 8 districts. "There is absolutely no doubt that the church swung the election," a Mobilization for Youth official told the *Village Voice*. "The parishes went out and organized slates and won." The *Voice* added: "In the East Village, Father Hawes of Immaculate Conception, also a member of the steering committee, organized and led a Catholic slate of five to victory, excluding all other neighborhood groups from representation on the committee. His main opposition came from an ad hoc committee of local artists who learned of the election late in May. An artist walked into an unpublicized 'open' meeting by mistake."

The Catholic-dominated committee has added a minister and a rabbi, but still speaks for one faction in controlling a program that was supposed to express the opinions of all factions. "But what is sacrificed in the scope of the committee's representation is gained by its unity," says the *Voice*. "It speaks with one voice, if not the voice of the poor. No motion by any of the fathers has yet been defeated. There is no need for the checks and balances of a democratic system. There is gentle direction from on high."

•

The Union Priest, the publication of Father William H. DuBay's American Federation of Priests, has been mailed to 40,000 clerics around the country. In an editorial, "Religion as a Profession," Father DuBay says:

"Until now, a management-dominated Church has been crippled in fulfilling its religious mission because of the lack of freedom to develop professional integrity. . . . The management take-over of the hierarchy and the heightened demands upon the priesthood demand the full benefit of collective bargaining for priests. . . . The master-servant relationship that still exists between bishop and priests not only militates against the most basic demands of professionalism, but even denies priests their natural and legal rights as citizens and members of the Church."

•

W. H. Ferry of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, reflecting on the democratic institution of the draft:

"Nations fall into bad habits. Conscription is an example. It is fruitless to try to eliminate this particular bad habit at this time, as it is fruitless to take the bottle away from the alcoholic before he becomes aware of its destructive qualities and decides himself to do something about it.

". . . Can our bad habit, the draft, be brought more firmly into the service of peace and justice? I believe it can, and with the slightest of modifications to the present legislation. All that is required is a change from the statutory draft ages of 18½ to 26 years to 45 to 52½ years.

"It requires no great imagination to foresee the prompt effectiveness of such a change. It is manifestly as just to ask one man as another to serve his country. It is manifestly more just to require a man who has lived two-thirds of his allotted span to take up the dangerous trade of arms than to ask a youngster with two-thirds of his life stretching before him.

"It is also more just for civilization, for the brutalizing effects of engagement in modern war can likely be better withstood by a ripe adult than by the young. The nation would not take chances, under this scheme, of losing its budding Beethovens, Salks and Einsteins.

"The possibility of peace would be just as promptly enhanced if we should choose to make up our non-volunteer forces from those *in medias res*. A main assumption about this bad habit, conscription, is that training for murder is not too great a hardship, and that it also results in an agreeable stiffening of character and widening of outlook.

"The same assumption may be made about conscription of the middle-aged. Who is to say that one hardship is more difficult to bear than the other? And the development of character and outlook is demonstrably necessary to an adult population which has put the entire planet in peril of thermonuclear war.

"It is appropriately argued against this plan that even if it should be adopted by the U.S., our middle-aged men would soon rebel against its discomforts and would see to it that these discomforts were moved back again onto the youthful population. There is no doubt either that a middle-aged fighting force would lack the efficiency at murder displayed by firm-muscled 21-year-olds.

"This argument is not insuperable, and is powerful chiefly because the proposal affects conscription only in the United States. Accordingly, the scheme should be made multi-lateral, probably through agreement in the United Nations. . . .

"Henry Ford once said that the way to prevent war was to take the profit out of it. This, at the moment, appears to be an object beyond reach. Simple modification of draft acts should be easier.

"The major appeal of this more modest and perhaps equally efficacious approach is that it would finally compel the warrior class of all Nations—those who by custom stay home and utter the cries of battle—to bear the costs of their own decisions for carnage, mutilation, and death."

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

Papal Dilemma

Streator, Ill.

To the Editors: Your editorial "The Pope and Birth Control" (Nov. 18) is as strange as the Pope's statement itself.

Surely the ban on contraception is doubtful not only "sociologically," but theologically as well. How else could individuals "decide in conscience" to "no longer act in the traditional way"?

The Pope's long hesitation, I believe, is making one thing clear—the extent of the illusion we have so long committed ourselves to, that the Pope and the Pope alone must be the final arbiter of all such questions.

Is it so difficult today to acknowledge that there are many in the Church who are more competent, as theologians and as scholars, than the Pope? If the Pope needs "a conscientious and viable way out of the dilemma," what more logical one than to leave the problem to be settled by the free and open discussion of the professional theologians (as it has largely been already)?

Surely this would be more practical—and more in accord with God's design—than to place all the burden of decision unilaterally on one man (or the Roman Curia). Haven't Galileo and similar cases taught us that yet? RONALD CASTORIA

Man-Centered Churches

Milwaukee, Wisc.

To the Editors: Mr. Clovis Heimsath ["Holy-Card Architecture," Nov. 4] has expressed well some of the requirements of churches. He seeks a church to create a mood that can "cancel out the ponderous thoughts of the world . . . a place apart, God-centered, to worship in." Yet a church must also say and be other things if it is to be true to the full meaning of the Eucharistic celebrations which it houses, a meaning which may be found more often in the storefronts of which he mildly complains than in many a beautiful church.

A church may be a good place to es-

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CHINESE PUZZLE

One advantage of being Catholic (or Protestant) in an ecumenical age is that it helps give one a somewhat different historical perspective on the accelerating struggle between the Soviet Union and Communist China. If Communism were nothing but a political movement, the special vantage point wouldn't exist; but Communism represents an ideology with distinctly religious overtones. And the current struggle reminds us of nothing so much as the historical struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. There is, for one thing, the wrestling over dogma, with each side claiming the other has betrayed the true principles of Marxism-Leninism. The word "revisionism" has the same connotations in the Marxist world that "heresy" does in historical Christianity. For another thing, there is in world Communism a political component similar to that which intensified the theological differences between Catholics and Protestants. Had not the German and English Reformations become intertwined with, respectively, the ambitions of some German princes and Henry VIII's nationalism, it could well have taken a very different course. As it turned out, the theological gap soon become a politico-cultural gap as well. Something very similar has made its appearance in the Sino-Soviet split. The jockeying between China and Russia to line up supporters is also reminiscent of the Post-Reformation era.

Eventually, of course, the analogy limps. But it has at least enough suggestive value to confirm the many suspicions that the break between China and Russia is of a type which cannot easily be repaired. Were it just a matter of political expediency and a purely pragmatic politics, one could imagine a healing of the wounds under more favorable circumstances. But the ideological element is now too strong to make that feasible. Then again, the political steps already taken by both sides—their mutual public recriminations, in particular—have helped remove the possibility of discussions which might lessen the ideological split. The main question at this point, then, is not when the split will end, but how far it will continue to go. All the evidence suggests that it could, indeed, go all the way—toward a military conflict between China and Russia. No Christian who has contemplated the

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bloody religious wars which followed in the wake of the Reformation and Post-Reformation should find the idea of a Sino-Soviet war unthinkable. Odd things happen when monoliths begin cracking; war is only one.

As these things go, however, it is far easier to understand the dynamics of the Reformation split than to understand just what is happening in the Communist world. Historical retrospect provides some keys to the former altogether missing in the latter. Consider, for example, the frequent reports of border clashes at the Sino-Soviet frontier. On the face of it, China appears perfectly foolish in pressing old border claims against Russia, not to mention adding, apparently, some armed incursions to back up their demands. For years to come China will be in no position to challenge the Soviet Union militarily; yet against all common-sense they are apparently doing just that right now in a small way. No less strange is the seeming willingness of China to cut itself off from the world Communist movement, and to do so at a moment when (according to persistent reports) it does not rule out the possibility of a war with the United States stemming from an escalation of the Vietnamese war. Whatever else one might care to accuse China of, the charge of following a policy of *realpolitik* is one which won't stick.

However odd these various moves of China, they are brilliantly lucid compared with the mysteries of the present political turmoil within the ruling class. If, as suspected, the frenzy of the Red Guards is meant to assist Mao Tse-tung in holding power, and to help the cause of Lin Piao as his successor, it is a tactic which has been anything but successful. Those attacked verbally by the Red Guard are, though downgraded a bit, still holding important positions. And Lin Piao, instead of gaining stature, appears to be in a weaker position as a result of the shenanigans of his Red Guards.The recent attempt of the Soviet Union in a *Pravda* editorial to foment rebellion against Mao may be as good a clue as any to the precarious position of both Mao and Lin Piao. Russia's game is to work for two very different goals simultaneously: on the one hand, to promote a world Communist conference for the specific purpose of denouncing China; and, on the other, to instigate a turnover in the present Chinese regime. These goals are by no means mutually exclusive.

Meanwhile, an exceedingly curious debate goes on at the U.N., once again over the old question of whether Communist China should be allowed a place along with the other nations of the world. It is a complicated debate, with much intricate maneuvering on all sides. Yet all the while it continues, Communist China itself gives no hint that it has any interests whatsoever in U.N. membership.

It is too bad one can't suggest that the China problem will work itself out the way the Catholic-Protestant struggle did. Of the latter it can be said that the worst has passed; of the former it is necessary to say that it probably still lies ahead.

DOMINICAN REWRITE

John Bartlow Martin has just published a book on the Dominican Republic (*Overtaken by Events*, Doubleday, $7.95), in which he raises again the controversial question of whether American involvement in the Revolution of April, 1965, was justified by the threat of a Communist takeover. Mr. Martin, a professional journalist and former ambassador to the Dominican Republic, has some ambivalent reactions: he thinks the Communists were largely unprepared to take a role in the revolution, and he feels that U.S. intervention probably strengthened the Communist hand in the country; yet he thinks the danger of a possible Communist takeover justified intervention by U.S. troops. It should be said that the crucial action of April, 1965, is marginal to the book, which deals mainly with Martin's period as ambassador (1962-64) and his peace trip of May, 1965, undertaken at the request of President Johnson.

The book, then, hailed by Adolph Berle in the *New York Times Book Review* as "the first authentic document of the case" contains no first-hand information of the critical events of April 24-28. Mr. Martin was not then on the scene. This does not prevent Mr. Berle from using his review of the book as a platform to insist that the intervention was wholly justified. "Murderous anarchy and bloody civil war ensued," says Mr. Berle, "with fair probability that Castro-Communists would be victors."

First of all, we now know that the "murderous anarchy" *followed* the crucial U.S. decision not to allow the revolution to complete itself. As Mr. Theodore Draper has convincingly shown, the rebels were on the point of a near-bloodless victory. (The stories of mass shootings and of heads of victims paraded on poles—retailed once again by Mr. Martin—have never been substantiated. The stories have been traced back to a press briefing by Ambassador Bennett. After reporters failed to find any evidence to support the charges, the U.S. embassy blandly said that Bennett's charges were unverifiable rumors, and blamed the press for reporting them as facts.)

It can be said in behalf of Mr. Berle that he leaves no doubt where he stands. "History alone can reveal longer range results," he writes, "but for the time being the President's swift use of power in the Dominican Republic seems vindicated." We think not. And we think that the only way Mr. Berle can manage to come to this conclusion is to ignore the first 36 hours of the revolution when according to virtually every analyst (even the State Department) non-Communists were firmly in control. The digging of journalists such as Tad Szulc and Mr. Draper shows that U.S. intervention really began at this point, though the troops were not to arrive for several days. On April 26, the U.S. Embassy cabled Washington to ask for logistical support for the generals on the grounds that a successful revolution would mean extremism within six

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months. U.S. military attaches egged on the Dominican military on April 24 and 25; Ambassador Bennett, whose fantasies of uncontrolled violence and Communist takeovers were to play such a large role, pursued the same line when he arrived at the scene from an ill-timed visit to Georgia. It was in reaction to U.S. intervention that Communist participation was welcomed into the revolution; at that dark hour, the rebels were not choosy about allies. Even then, the Communist element was light, and the vision of an imminent Castroist victory never very plausible. Perhaps Mr. Berle is right in not pre-empting the judgment of future historians, who will be under less pressure than old State Department hands to justify so classic a blunder as the U.S. intervention.

CRIME IN THE STREETS

The logic by which certain political causes become "Republican" or "Democratic"—or "conservative" or "liberal"—is often difficult to discover. Why, for example, do many Republicans oppose conservation measures of which their well-heeled, vacationing constituents are major beneficiaries, while the same measures are supported by Democratic liberals whose inner-city voters couldn't care less? A more current, and more volatile, example is the political issue popularly identified with the catchphrase "crime in the streets."

By now "crime in the streets" has its own yearly ritual. It opens with the F.B.I.'s annual report demonstrating ever-higher crime rates. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover usually accompanies this with a homily on the growing disrespect for law and order, and the conservative prophets of doom join in with two choruses of "what's this country coming to!" Then it is the liberals' turn. The liberals point to a number of learned studies which have examined, and found wanting, the F.B.I.'s methods of collecting, categorizing, and correlating crime statistics. Knowing the racist purposes to which these crime statistics are frequently put, liberals demonstrate (quite correctly) that there is no massive crime increase, and then sign off, declaring the whole matter a right-wing bogey.

There are two reasons why this liberal response is unfortunate. The first is mainly strategic: the "crime in the streets" issue is going to be with us, whether or not it may have solid foundations in fact. The campaign against the Civilian Police Review Board in New York certainly is convincing evidence.

But the second reason is far more important. Crime is properly a liberal concern, because it hurts most severely precisely those groups in society about which liberals have been most concerned. Poor people have always been the most frequent victims of criminals, and the situation has not changed despite middle-class worries to the contrary. In fact, certain crimes whose rates *are* increasing—robbery, for instance—are just those which are most disastrous for the poor. For a well-to-do shopper to have her purse snatched is perhaps frightening and a terrible annoyance; for the woman who has just received her welfare check, it is a catastrophe. Big-city social workers can tell of numerous women in poor neighborhoods afraid to leave money in their apartments lest it be stolen while they are out, and afraid to take the money out with them lest their purses be snatched. And police in these neighborhoods, especially in Negro ghettos, often condescendingly take such crime for granted, pay little attention to complaints, or are so alienated from the people that investigation and enforcement are impossible.

Since "crime in the streets" is shaping up as a key political issue, liberals had better face it straightforwardly. They should say that the crime statistics do not indicate a moral decline in the nation. That there is nonetheless a serious problem from which the poor and not the middle-classes are the main sufferers. That law enforcement should be improved—where it is needed most, to protect the poor, and not primarily to insulate the well-off. That law enforcement obviously can do little without wide social reforms. And that a nation which would protest "crime in the streets!" and then use this slogan as a stick for beating down crime's major victims is displaying a kind of moral corruption undreamt of even by Mr. Hoover.

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A CRITICAL MOMENT

RESHUFFLE IN BONN

Bonn's unrest since October 28, when the Erhard coalition broke up, has taken Americans aback: what had come over the formerly stable and reliable ally West Germany?

Actually, a sense of uneasiness has pervaded West Germany for some time. In a Wuppertal speech during the summer, novelist Heinrich Böll shocked his audience by diagnosing the administration as "only some decaying remnants of power." The events and especially the infighting in the alliance of Christian Democrats and the Christian Social Union have proved him right.

Bonn's reunification policy has failed; Germany has not found allies for its demand that the Eastern provinces be returned; de Gaulle hampers further political integration of the Common Market countries. In short, the basic guideposts of German policy set under Adenauer's admin-

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istration currently point to a dead-end. Even the Starfighter system, the Hispano-Suiza tank and the "Bundeswehr" line of command, all under constant fire, were installed before Erhard's chancellorship. Publicly, Adenauer's legacy was widely unrecognized and the entire blame fell on Erhard. But Erhard himself was quite correct in calling the crisis of his cabinet a crisis of the CDU/CSU party.

In fact, such was the fierceness of inter-party quarrel among the self-designated crown princes, and against Erhard that sterling figures like CDU house leader Barzel and Gerstenmaier, President of the House, now appear tarnished. Moreover, none of the leading contenders for the post emerged victorious from the party caucus. Instead of a Christian Democrat from the Bonn scene the CDU selected the minister president of the state of Baden-Wuerttenberg, Kurt George Kiesinger, to succeed Erhard —provided the CDU can find a partner for a new coalition and thus muster a *Bundestag* majority.

Strife and the N.D.P.

Erhard's successor will have to surmount formidable problems unless he wants to bow out after a brief act. Foremost will be the need to improve the state of the economy. Economic security and more political stability would also be the best answer to the Neo-Nazi *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (NDP). Typically, the NDP's spectacular rise took place during the most unstable phase of West Germany's political climate: its breakthrough came in local elections in Bavaria in March, 1966, next followed gains in a repeat local election in Lower Saxony's Pied Piper town of Hamlin in September (8%), and the recent success in Hesse's state elections in Hesse (7.9%) and Bavaria (7.4%). Nobody can precisely establish what this development involves. In addition to economics, rudiments of attitudes of the past and supernationalism are factors—the chauvinism kindled by the issues of re-unification and of the former German territories in the East. As is revealed by the NDP party followers' concern for the strife between Austria and Italy over South Tyrol, very emotional attitudes are at work.

In foreign policy, the success of any future coalition between another party and the CDU will partly depend on more unity among Christian Democrats themselves. The infighting for Erhard's throne caused self-absorption and an almost parochial state of West German thinking on international affairs. In the past, domestic problems tended to overshadow foreign policy anyway; conscious of refugee votes, Bonn omitted vigorous efforts for reconcilation with the East European satellites.

Will the new chancellor's foreign policy inventory induce him to pay more tribute to Gaullism? This is very possible, even if only to make peace between the Christian Democratic factions of Gaullists and Atlanticists (advocates of strict alignment with Washington, chiefly Erhard and his foreign minister Schroeder). Barzel and Franz-Joseph Strauss urged a turn toward France on the last CDU/CSU party convention. This has long been "Altkanzler" Adenauer's line. In recent polemics, Strauss opposed a German industrial "dependence on the U.S."—a time-tested European slogan, which de Gaulle used likewise when limiting foreign control, mainly American control, in French industry.

If the future German course should be somewhat less close to the American, this is mutually conditioned. Has the U.S. with her increased engagement in Vietnam and her resulting reorientation toward Asia reduced the common interests? Adenauer implied this in his August interview with the New York *Times* when suggesting American withdrawal from Vietnam in order that guard could be fully maintained in Europe.

Was fear of an American reduction of troops Adenauer's only motivation for his broadside against President Johnson's Asian policy? Evidently, Adenauer furthermore concurs with the opinion occasionally voiced in Germany during conversations—the balance of power stratagem, which sees in China a counterweight to the USSR. Volume II of Adenauer's memoirs, which appeared recently, testifies to the ex-chancellor's early agreement with this view. Envisioning Russian political thinking, he states: "Either conflict with Western Europe and its conquest or else conflict with the Chinese. . . .To take up simultaneously with this Europe, with the U.S., and with China is impossible." China, in this balance of power hypothesis, blocks Soviet expansionism in Europe; thus. China's existence must not be questioned by the increasing U.S. involvement in Asia. Here, the same motivation looms in Adenauer's and de Gaulle's mind when they condemn the U.S. undertaking in Vietnam.

On the other hand, West German and French interests do not entirely coincide. (Many of de Gaulle's German followers, in all "Gemütlichkeit," appear never to have reflected on the consequences of his policies for West Germany.) Evidently, de Gaulle abhors any mutilation of the Washington-Moscow-Peking triangle for additional reasons. De Gaulle needs partners to be able to resist any potential cooperative decrees the two present nuclear giants might impose, and such agreements are in reach, as the recent negotiations on non-proliferation indicate. Thanks to China's testing her bomb, de Gaulle's testing program goes almost uncensored. On the other hand, unlike French interests, vital West German aims, say re-unification, are more strongly opposed to Russian goals.

The forecast for the next German chancellor's foreign policy platform, then, whether outlined under predominant Christian Democratic or Social Democrat influence, would suggest a more elastic course between either Paris and Washington. De Gaulle's insistence that Europe need not conform with the U.S. may find more German ears, at least until the American immersion in the Vietnam war can be reduced.

HANS-BERNHARD MOELLER

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

NO MORE SEAWEED

In any internal dispute in the Church both sides try to have the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* reflect their views. This is, it should be noted, a game at which the conservatives are much more successful than the progressives.

Something of this sort was apparently involved in a recent *Osservatore* front-page editorial on birth control by the assistant editor, Federico Allesandrini, a layman. Despite the fact that it was found necessary to appoint a top-level papal commission to re-study this complex issue, the editorial went on record against any "unnatural" form of birth control; what is needed, it seems, is "mastery of self." And the editorial pooh-poohed scientific warnings of imminent danger of world overpopulation. "One notes, for example," Mr. Alessandrini wrote, "that an always-growing propaganda, which tends to instill the belief that without a controlled limitation of births, within a few years, the human race will die of hunger, comes to be put forward as a definitive and uncontestable argument." "At least for now," the editorial insisted, the population problem did not seem to create serious difficulties; help should be sought in scientific and technical progress, not in what *Osservatore* called "expedients that offend the moral order willed by God."

There we have, then, an almost classic example of the old-line Catholic confrontation with the population problem. Non-Catholic experts may stress the scariest side of the picture; Catholics tend to deny that any real problem exists. Harvest the riches of the sea, we have been told *ad nauseam*; seaweed shall make us all free or at least filled—a prospect unlikely to be much comfort to India's Mrs. Gandhi in the very real hunger problem she faces right now.

This is the way the argument has gone and there is some truth on each side. Irrigation can revolutionize a country; a new kind of plow could change a nation's face. To this extent Catholic apologists for the war on birth control are correct. But they are still looking at only part of the picture.

The fact is that Mrs. Gandhi in India has to confront what is, not what might be. The grain crop in India this year was not good, and it ran about the same as that of 1960. But India today has seventy-five million more mouths to feed than it did in 1960. Only heavy shipments from America's surplus are making up the difference, and that once-troublesome surplus is now shrinking fast.

The gloomy picture presented by many scientists is, as far as I can determine, essentially true. Food production is now staying ahead of population growth, but in a few years' time the rate of population growth will exceed the rate of food increase, if things continue as they are now. At the present rate of growth, for example, India's population by 1980 will increase by 200 million. It simply does not seem possible that India can feed 200 million more people by that time without massive outside assistance. How long can that nation count on such large-scale outside assistance? Yet the alternative is starvation—indeed, some estimate that in five years one-fourth of India's population will face famine.

There is no getting around the fact that world population is growing at a phenomenal rate. Four hundred years ago life expectancy at birth was probably around twenty-five years; today in countries like the U.S. it is around seventy. Between 1650 and 1800 the population doubled, and then doubled again by 1950. Now good predictions say it will double again by the year 2000.

In parts of Latin America today, the rate of annual increase runs around three percent. This means that population doubles in about twenty-five years. Imagine what this means in that area—where, incidentally, one-third of the world's Catholic population now lives. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, something like half the children in Latin America suffer from hunger—a constant, nagging failure to receive proper nourishment. In Mexico, according to the Bishops' Center for Aid to the Indians, malnutrition starts at about three or four months of age, when the mother's milk becomes inadequate both in quality and quantity .

In every Latin American country the infant mortality rate is at least double that of the United States; in Chile alone 30,000 children die each year without reaching their first birthday, 20,000 of them from hunger. These things are scandalous and must be corrected; imagine the effect on population, though, when they are.

The people in Latin America cannot educate the children they are bearing. Almost half of Latin America's forty million children are not in school at all. In Latin America as a whole 43% of the population is illiterate. In Brazil almost half the 65 million citizens cannot read or write.

In short, what I am saying is this: Catholics should stop dismissing phenomenal population growth as simply a scare story. Obviously, statistics alone cannot and should not be the sole consideration for the Pope and the papal birth control commission in considering this problem. In reaching a conclusion on birth control, however, they certainly should not dismiss the foreboding conclusions of demography as easily as *L'Osservatore Romano* did.

JAMES O'GARA

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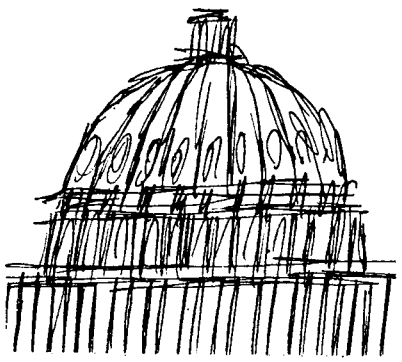
DEATH OF THE NEW DEAL

A lead for the Republicans in image politics

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM



Off-year elections usually have limited significance for the evolution of our political history. But it occasionally happens that voting behavior at midterm points toward massive shifts in the structure of our politics. 1966 was obviously such an off-year election. The shifts were so large as to be a surprise to victors and defeated alike. One is almost forced to conclude that something very like a revolution is happening in American politics.

The Republican party, so extraordinarily soon after the 1964 debacle, has developed a near-monopoly on candidates with broad national appeal. The Democrats, on the other hand, are in the most serious trouble in the economically and socially most advanced parts of the country. Both parties are grappling toward an understanding of the political style and demands of a new social stratum which is just now emerging into maturity; one suspects that the party which first succeeds in enlisting this stratum behind its banner will move into political ascendancy. It is by no means as clear as was thought in 1964 that this need be the Democratic party. Finally, the political system as a whole has cut loose from its moorings and is in transition—but toward what?

Before turning more fully to these speculations, let us look at just what happened in November, 1966. In the first place, the voter turnout seems to have been about three-quarters of what it was two years ago, which is wholly normal. The Republican gains in Congress were impressive but not wildly out of line with the past. They won 18 of 35 Senate races, and increased their seats in the House by 47. The mean gain for the out-party following landslides since 1920 has been 46 seats. Of course, a gain of this magnitude means almost certainly that the Conservative Coalition will return to the control it has normally had in the House since 1939. The Vietnam war alone would have called a halt to domestic Great Society programs; the lineup of the new House suggests that many of them will become Potemkin villages, paper authorizations with no appropriations to give them life.

Two major "issues" turned out rather as predicted. In the South, "white backlash" was a major force in Alabama, Georgia and probably Florida. Even so, it probably wasn't decisive in Florida, was virtually non-existent in Tennessee and apparently operated in reverse in the Arkansas gubernatorial race. Percy's victory in Illinois was so large, and the Republican swing so evenly distributed throughout the state—including Negro wards in Chicago—that race hatred was clearly insufficient to explain the result. In Massachusetts, Edward Brooke not only won, but won in a landslide only once before surpassed since 1916 by any Republican senatorial candidate. Many urban Democratic congressmen feared that they would be swept out of office on a "white power" tide, but this did not materialize anywhere, not even in war-torn Chicago.

Nor did Vietnam have any more clear-cut effect. The only Senate race involving the issue squarely—the Hatfield-Duncan race in Oregon—resulted in a victory for the "dove," Mark Hatfield, though it may have cost him some 20,000 votes. Where senatorial incumbents were concerned, all of them except Douglas of Illinois were re-elected, whether "hawk," "dove," or other. The Vietnam issue may very well crystallize against the Administration in the next two years, even possibly to the point of wrecking Johnson's chances for re-election, but it is obviously not crystallized yet. On balance the new Senate

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will be somewhat more freighted with "doves," particularly Republican "doves," while the new House will probably be markedly more hawkish in temper. But the President made it clear before the election that it would under no circumstances cause a change in basic Administration policy, and he can probably be believed on this point.

Two Lines of Cleavage

Two major lines of cleavage in voting behavior can be discerned in the 1966 election. One of these is very peculiar indeed: the Republicans made enormous gains in elections for state office, but did far less impressively in the congressional races by comparison. They held on to all of their governorships except in Maine and Kansas, and added ten others. The GOP emerged from these gubernatorial races with 54 percent of the total vote—a truly spectacular increase over their 1964 showing, and the best over-all Republican performance at the state level since 1952. One measure of the Democratic rout at the grass-roots level was the party's loss of over 700 state legislative seats, a loss which considerably exceeds its 1964 gains.

Precedents were shattered all over the country in this voting, but it is at the state level that the most dramatic break with the past occurred. While split-ticket voting reached enormous proportions in many states, there was nevertheless a strong Republican-sweep character to the voting. In Arkansas, not only did Winthrop Rockefeller score the first Republican victory for any office since 1872, but he apparently brought his Republican running-mate for Lieutenant governor and one Congressman in with him. Similarly, not only Pat Brown but the Democrats were routed in California. Minnesota, Michigan, Massachusetts and even Rhode Island revealed much the same pattern. Moreover the trend toward loosening of all traditional party alignments continues unabated. Democratic state victories in once-Republican Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont are examples; so too is Republican John Volpe's feat in carrying the city of Boston in his enormous gubernatorial landslide. Another straw in the wind was in the New York gubernatorial race. In the last of the "New Deal" elections—the 1954 gubernatorial race—the Democrats won 65 percent of the city vote and 38 percent of the upstate vote. But in 1966 this gap was reduced very sharply, so much so that Rockefeller carried Manhattan while doing unusually poorly upstate. Indeed, the four candidates won almost exactly the same proportions of the vote in Manhattan and in upstate New York!

The second visible line of cleavage in this election was along sectional lines. By and large—though of course with major exceptions—the Northeast showed the least spectacular Republican gains, especially on the congressional level. New York demonstrates once again the paradox of this election in microcosm: while Rockefeller was winning re-election by over 400,000 votes, all seven of the 1964 Democratic House freshmen were re-elected. The only race the Democrats lost was in the Albany district, a seat last won by the Republicans in the Harding landslide. of 1920. Also, Connecticut delivered one of the few solid Democratic victories of 1966.

The South, on the other hand, showed very major Republican gains but in a reversal from the 1964 pattern. With the exception of Georgia, where Bo Callaway may yet become governor, the major Republican gains were scored outside of the "Goldwater country" of 1964. They were spectacular: Republican governors in Arkansas and Florida, the first since 1872; additional congressional seats in Texas, Tennessee, Arkansas, North Carolina, Florida and Virginia, and wide Republican successes in Oklahoma eight years after the state GOP had been virtually given up for dead. In the five states which Goldwater carried two years ago, Republicans fared considerably less well than had been expected last spring. Even in Alabama, however, they held their congressional ground pretty well, keeping three of the five House seats they won in the 1964 Goldwater landslide. The new House of Representatives will have 83 Democratic and 23 Republican members from the former Solid South, the largest proportion of Republicans in the Southern delegation since 1874.

The Far West had some exceptionally dramatic races, especially the Reagan-Brown race in California. In addition to that contest, Republicans took over control of governorships from Democrats in Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada and Alaska, but the GOP surge was relatively moderate and somewhat uneven over-all. In Washington, for example, all five of the 1965 freshman Democratic congressmen were re-elected. But there can be little doubt that the GOP has a much more solid hold in the West than at any time since the early 1950s. What is more, Republican officeholders in that area are with few exceptions moderately to extremely rightist in their views. Few can doubt that Ronald Reagan and the men around him will have a very large say in the 1968 Republican convention, or that they will work closely with the party's expanding Southern wing.

It was in the Midwest that the Republican tide ran exceptionally heavily. There were some local exceptions, but they were fewer than in any other region. This former heartland of the Republican faith will return 45 Democratic and 80 Republican congressmen to the 90th Congress; nearly half of the Republican gains were scored in this region. For the top offices, the GOP scored about 56 percent of the two-party vote, a gain of 17 percent over Goldwater's showing here two years ago.

Liquidating the New Deal

What are the broader implications of all this? In the first place, the liquidation of the older New Deal align-

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ment and political styles associated with it is becoming an accomplished fact. This was symbolically ratified in the overwhelming defeats of Douglas in Illinois and Williams in Michigan. Michigan is probably the most dramatic example of this development in the country. Here was a state which, from 1948 to 1962, had exceptionally programmatic politics based mostly on a labor-big business cleavage. Elections were closely balanced throughout this period, and electoral swings were extremely small. Even Eisenhower polled no more than 55 percent of the vote, and Mennen Williams was regarded as invincible. The major break with past voting patterns came in 1964, when George Romney, who had won very narrowly in 1962, polled 57 percent of the vote and led his party's national ticket by 25 percentage points. 1966 brought the wheel full cycle: a Republican sweep in which Romney even carried Detroit. It is as though everything which had happened since 1946 had never really happened after all.

Countless other examples of this destruction of an earlier, more-or-less stable political order can be found all over the industrial states. As Goldwater lost small-town and rural areas, Republican since time immemorial, so in 1966 Democratic candidates lost core party areas such as Boston and Manhattan Borough to their Republican opposition. Whatever American politics now is, its battles are being fought in an entirely different kind of arena than the system which Samuel Lubell has immortalized and under which we all grew up.

Some observers have seen the development of a generational cleavage in this separation from older moorings. There is much truth to this view, but it needs to be fitted into a discussion of a new social stratum which is numerically very large and has now emerged into political maturity. In an era in which depressions have been abolished for all practical purposes, the political style of these children of affluence is very vaguely "liberal," but essentially unprogrammatic. Understandably, they tend to find appeals centered on the politics of scarcity and the ethnic melting-pot to be almost as archaic as appeals to Civil War loyalties would be. For the well-off, highly educated and technically specialized members of the new generation, politics is not the matter of life and death which it may have been to their parents a generation ago, or is today in the underdeveloped world. It tends to become an item of luxury consumption, something which is not likely to affect their daily existence very visibly, an arena in which personality and "image" is king.

When we talk about the American electorate, we are generally speaking of the top half or three-fifths of American society. It is increasingly walled off from the scarcity world where politics does matter vitally, both at home and abroad. It has increasingly come to identify itself—especially in the burgeoning suburban areas—with a managerial, technologically competent society which is mildly progressive at home but understands not at all the world of the underdeveloped either within or outside the United States. The ideal political candidate in such a context is a man who is young, physically attractive, articulate and politically centrist by American standards. 1966 produced a bumper crop of such prospects, most of them Republicans.

Facing the New Style

The current dilemmas facing both parties relate directly to the emergence of this new-style politics. For the Democrats the problem is failure-in-success. Having achieved a solid majority position over the past thirty years by stressing group benefits and the solidarities born of scarcity, Democratic politicians have all too frequently followed the path of least resistance by carrying on the successful campaign styles of yesteryear into today's world. Democratic leadership cadres outside the South are still made up largely of big-city politicians and New Deal issue-oriented reformers who came to political maturity a quarter-century ago. The New York elections of 1965 and 1966 proved the weakness of the former; the Illinois and Michigan elections of 1966 suggest the decline, if not the demise, of the latter. Other than these, there is Lyndon Johnson, whose political style is manifestly archaic, and Robert Kennedy. Kennedy is virtually the only Democrat of national prominence who can compete on anything like equal terms with the Romneys and the Percys, which may be one very good reason why he seems to have such an extraordinary appeal among younger Democrats. Otherwise, the party—at least temporarily—is severely handicapped by an acute shortage of new-style candidates.

It is also confronted as a party by extreme organizational weakness. A substantial part of the blame for this must be laid at Johnson's door, since he has been responsible for crippling the activities of the Democratic National Committee by denying it funds for adequate staffing, registration campaigns and the like. Most of the organizational weaknesses of the party, however, are rooted in the states and in such developments as the decay of organized labor as a major political force in American life. Behind Johnson, one suspects, is an army which has a large number of paper units. It would be absurd to write off the Democratic Party after one midterm election, but its effectiveness in the years ahead will very much depend on whether it can find an adequate role in the new, emergent politics.

In a real sense the opportunities which 1966 has suddenly revealed to the Republican party merely serve to heighten its internal tensions and compound its dilemma. During the past few years the electorate has spoken on one issue as clearly as it is ever likely to speak on any: the future of the Republican party and its chance to become the core of a new majority in American politics depends on its making an unequivocal choice in favor of its liberal wing. The voters have made it clear time and again

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that they are prepared, even under the most improbable circumstances, to elect liberal Republicans to major offices.

Yet if the GOP has one foot in the increasingly decisive technical-professional suburban scene, its other is still firmly planted in the reactionary society of the small town and the middle-sized city. Its gains in the Northeast and Midwest have been accompanied by its gains in the West and the South. Certainly the Goldwater element will play a major role in the 1968 convention; it may well be able to block the nomination of a George Romney, even if it does not choose the nominee outright. Under these conditions Richard Nixon emerges as a logical choice, since he is the one man whom both wings of the party might be brought to support. The party will thus very soon be faced with one of the more important decisions of its history: settle for Nixon for the sake of "party unity" or follow the cues thrown out by the electorate and run a liberal Republican who might have a reasonable chance to beat the Democratic ticket in the states where the votes are. That the Administration is widely vulnerable in the metropolitan areas is obvious, but it is far less obvious that the GOP will be able to capitalize on this fact. Perhaps if George Wallace makes a bid for the far-right racist vote in 1968 the task of the GOP's 20th-century wing will be easier, but it is hardly likely to head Nixon off at the pass without much more political awareness and hard work than it displayed in 1964.

One who studies the 1966 election in the context of the recent past comes away with the sense that he is witnessing a kind of explosion in slow motion within our system of party politics. How many people would have believed two years ago that the Republican presidential nomination might be worth something in 1968? Or six years ago that the Democrats would largely be bankrupt in promising candidates and organizational structure? Or that there was even the remotest possibility that someday a renovated Republican Party might regain national ascendancy? About all which can be said of 1966 with some certainty, apart from its evident short-term consequences in Congress, is that it is the latest installment of the revolt of the moderates.

Why the Review Board failed

BACKLASH IN BROOKLYN

JAMES J. GRAHAM

It would be wrong to dismiss the vote on November 8th in New York against Mayor John Lindsay's Civilian Complaint Review Board as a local aberration in a city characterized by George Wallace as the home of the "Communist-Socialist-Beatnik Conspiracy." In fact, New Yorkers, like Chicagoans, in the past have been progressive on racial issues only from a safe distance. The size of the anti-Board tally, especially among normally liberal Jewish voters, and on an issue much less sensitive than open housing, for example, dramatically demonstrated that whites in the big cities are ready to call a halt to Negro advances too close to home.

Some commentators, of course, but not many, have argued that racial prejudice was not a major factor. William F. Buckley, Jr., the intellectual spokesman for many of the nation's conservatives, in his syndicated column credited the victory of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association in large part to the fact that Algernon Black, Chairman of the Board, supported Henry Wallace for President in 1940 and to "growing resentment of the disabling tendency to view all controversial questions in black and white." There is probably more cogency to the remark of Senator Robert Kennedy, who actively campaigned against the PBA referendum abolishing the Board, that many voters saw the issue in terms of "crime versus the police." But in the context of the history of the issue it is difficult to believe that more than a relative handful could have been so naive.

In July the Police Commissioner appointed four civilians, at Lindsay's request, to the existing three-man, intra-departmental Board. The move was made in response to the demands of civil rights leaders during the mayoral campaign last fall that, in turn, had been sparked by several major incidents of alleged police brutality towards Negro and Puerto Rican suspects. Subsequently, Patrolman John Cassese, President of the PBA, publicly stated, in effect, that the minorities were being catered to.

Contrary to general expectations, the PBA, after winning the right in court to have an anti-Board referendum submitted to the voters, proceeded to spend more money in *their* campaign than did the Democratic Party on behalf of its gubernatorial candidate. By subtly playing upon racial fears, the blizzard of billboard, newspaper, radio

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and TV commercials created a raw, frenzied climate (on this issue only) that was probably unique in New York's political history. A favorite ad depicted a young, blonde woman hesitating to move out of a subway kiosk into a dark street, ostensibly because, if she were attacked, the patrolman on the beat might fear a charge of brutality if he answered her cries for help. Crude, but effective.

The PBA thus exploited the "crime-in-the-streets" theme first employed by Barry Goldwater in 1964 and since repeated by Ronald Reagan and every other right-wing Republican office seeker, North and South.

In popular parlance, the term has come to mean an attack upon Johnson Democrats, liberals generally and their Negro allies for abetting a broad range of activities from rape attacks—by Negroes—to Martin Luther King's parading through traffic, with or without a permit.

On the other hand, almost seventy percent of the voting electorate rejected the Board in the face of an impressive pro-Board alliance of religious, civic and union leaders and a warning by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York that the PBA referendum, if successful, might have the side effect of insulating the Police Department from *any* kind of civilian review, including inquiries into police graft by Lindsay's energetic Commissioner of Investigation. This advice was repeated by a score of public figures in a two-hour telethon on election eve.

It was also apparent to the white voters who, normally, in this city are not starry-eyed about the police, that respectable members of the growing Negro middle-class regarded the Board as an outlet, however slight, for grievances against police excesses in the ghettoes, and further, would regard a "yes" vote (for the referendum) as a vote against them. (In fact, non-criminal voters in Harlem, etc., returned decisive majorities for the Board.)

In this light, only a racial backlash could have produced such a one-sided victory for the PBA. But, at the same time, it is also important to note that the racial prejudice involved here is of a more subtle variety than has yet begun to grow among the magnolias. Was it a Southerner who said that, conversely with his region, Northerners don't care how high a Negro gets so long as he doesn't get too close?

The same white who spurned civilian review for racial reasons, if given the chance, probably would have helped elect Edward Brooke and defeat Lester Maddox. He does not think of himself as a bigot. Unlike the class-conscious suburbanite, the urban white in a pinch might even tolerate one or two Negro families on his block and freely participate with them, as in my neighborhood, in block associations, but rarely will he invite his Negro neighbor into his home for a drink.

It is a subtle prejudice that survives repeated contacts with individual Negroes because it has room for qualified exceptions in individual cases. This prejudice anxiously dwells upon statistics which evidence a high crime rate among Negroes but, irrationally, refuses to acknowledge that criminals constitute only a tiny percentage of the entire Negro population, and particularly of that portion with the most potential (and desire) to break out of the ghetto. It is the same prejudice that the owners of luxury apartment houses cater to when they avoid hiring Negro doormen to guard against twilight intruders.

Not White Supremacy

In short, urban white distaste for the Negro is not necessarily grounded in a sense of white supremacy. This prejudice stems instead from a deep fear of the *race* itself, which in turn derives its substance from several generations of de facto segregation of whites and Negroes in New York and most other Northern metropolises in all the most meaningful activities of community living.

Because it is a matter of race, Puerto Ricans are only incidentally included in the opprobrium. Though the Puerto Ricans in the cities now suffer more than their share of economic discrimination, second-generation islanders with light complexions will assimilate into the melting pot less noticeably even than Italian immigrants. Nothing else adequately accounts for a 1960 census figure which shows almost two hundred persons of Puerto Rican descent, but not one Negro, living in a predominantly Italian section of Brooklyn.

Proponents of the Board were dismayed to learn that except in sophisticated Manhattan, most of New York's Jewish communities on this issue did not identify with the underprivileged minorities. But in terms of the seriousness of this urban situation and the possibility of its ultimate resolution, Catholic opposition was far more serious.

White Roman Catholics constitute significant population blocs in most of the large Northern cities. While their voting habits and prejudices may be no more (and no less) predictable than Protestant farmers, for example, or Negroes, it is a safe assertion that, for better or worse, ethnic cohesiveness in Catholic communities, reinforced by parochial school training and parish living, does produce a somewhat uniform citizen type.

According to a booklet distributed by New York City's Department of Commerce and Industrial Development, in 1960, 48.4% of the eight million residents of the five boroughs were Catholic and 26.4% Jewish. Catholics also hold clear majorities in the two most politically conservative boroughs, Richmond (Staten Island), 68.3%, and Queens, 53.3%. Recent immigration figures, which show a steady preponderance of Irish and Italian arrivals, indicate that the percentage of Catholics in the city's population will continue to grow.

Except for Hasidic Williamsburg (a special case), no state assembly districts with heavy concentrations of Jewish voters cast more than three to one margins against the Review Board; but at least five Irish and Italian districts vetoed the Board by 6 to 1 margins or better.

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Two of these communities lie, respectively, within Brooklyn's 15th Congressional District (3.1% Negro), represented since 1960 by Hugh L. Carey, and within the Queens Ninth (2.6% Negro), represented by veteran James J. Delaney. Both Congressmen broke with Democratic Party leaders to publicly denounce the Board and joined eighteen other prominent attorneys and judges (most or all of whom already opposed on policy grounds) in an attempt in a newspaper ad to refute the Bar Association's stand on the "sleeper clause." According to a New York *Times* report, despite the fact that the referendum was not a federal matter, Delaney's constituents during the campaign wanted him to discuss nothing else.

Voters in the 15th were not so preoccupied, perhaps because the absence of a dissenting Liberal Party candidate dulled any real controversy over the issue, but Carey's constituents were then and have been almost paranoic on race for some time. Congressman Carey's district has been gerrymandered twice by the Albany Republicans; it runs like a thin snake from the Brooklyn Bridge to the Verrazano, from liberal Republican-Reform Democrat Brooklyn Heights, through middle-class areas in Park Slope and Sunset Park and ending in a large blob in Bay Ridge.

Bay Ridge is the only Republican bastion remaining in the borough. It has two Assemblymen and one state Senator who are Republicans, a John Birch Chapter and a powerful Conservative Party organization. Italians and a sprinkling of Irish Catholics dominate local politics. This year, repeal of the Blaine Amendment to the State Constitution (denying aid "directly or indirectly" to parochial schools) was of paramount concern in the election, followed by the Review Board and, as usual, by high taxes, bussing to achieve integration and open housing.

Congressman Carey in 1964, when the bussing issue was quite volatile, actually accused the opposition party in Albany of having visited this menace upon the city's [white] children. Last spring, Carey managed to attach a prohibition on bussing to the aid-to-education bill. "Carey says 'never' to federal bussing," said a headline at the time in one of the local newspapers.

The remoteness of any sort of racial "problem" in Bay Ridge evidences the extent of white paranoia on the subject, though the root prejudice involved differs only in degree from attitudes elsewhere in the city. The children of most of those violently opposed to bussing, including Congressman Carey who has fourteen, attend parochial schools and are, therefore, immune. In addition, the racial non-mixture in Bay Ridge is such that it is highly unlikely that even token integration will occur there in this century either in the schools or in dwelling accommodations.

The 1960 census reported that one-tenth of one percent of Brooklyn's Negroes (49% are in Bedford-Stuyvesant) live in Bay Ridge but, more important, none of the buffer neighborhoods surrounding Bay Ridge have more than one half of one percent of the borough's Negro population. A random sampling of eight census tracts throughout Bay Ridge showed approximately 8,000 whites (25% of them Irish and Italian), twenty-one Negroes and twenty Puerto Ricans. Since the minority group members presumably work at service occupations, it is startling to realize that Negroes evidently are not welcome in Bay Ridge even as live-in janitors.

It is also relevant to this discussion that Carey, a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, and Delaney, of the House Rules Committee, have acquired reputations as powerful proponents of some form of constitutional aid to the parochial schools. In addition, like most other city Democrats, they are also known as Johnson loyalists. Both cast ballots in the last session for such liberal measures as the rent subsidies and demonstration cities measures and the Civil Rights Bill, which, with its watered-down open housing provisions, passed in the House but failed to weather a Senate filibuster.

These votes did not seriously hurt the two Congressmen. Both won handily on November 8th; Carey by the widest margin of his career. In regard to the open housing bill, a strong statement issued at the time by Archbishop Bryan J. McEntegart in support of the principle behind the measure probably helped numb the opposition. But the apparent lack of antagonism may be consistent with the theory advanced here that urban Democrats will tolerate much liberal legislation that does not affect them personally. For example, New York City has had local fair housing legislation for over ten years that has had no visible impact on segregated neighborhood patterns.

Significantly, perhaps, the attitude of the diocesan leadership was at best cool towards the Review Board. Archbishop McEntegart, like Cardinal Spellman, rejected Mayor Lindsay's request to take an affirmative stand, though the Catholic Interracial Council did endorse the Board. But for an issue allegedly without moral overtones, lower echelon, vocal Catholic involvement was abnormally high.

A group of 86 priests held a televised pro-Board press conference in a Bedford-Stuyvesant church on November 6th and had a mild letter of endorsement printed in the November 3rd issue of the Brooklyn *Tablet*. On November 6th, the *Daily News* printed both a full page pro-

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Board ad signed by two hundred clergy and laymen and a smaller advertisement with a cartoon depicting a thug yelling "brutality" and dragging a battered policeman before the Board's Chairman in "Mayor Lindsay's Fun City." The latter ad bore the cryptic sponsorship of "Roman Catholic Priests' Committee Against Civilian Review Board."

The *Tablet,* a weekly "maintained by and in the interest of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn", with a circulation of over 100,000, was openly hostile. Its managing editor, archconservative Patrick J. Scanlan, wrote in his column that since it was not safe to walk the streets of New York after dark, the greater need was for a campaign against crime. The same pre-election issue of the Archbishop's newspaper contained a quarter-page ad depicting the wrecked "aftermath of a [Negro] riot in a city [Philadelphia or Rochester] that had a civilian review board" and a three-column contribution from a correspondent, his second such letter in three weeks, asserting his view that open housing was a socio-political issue only. In September, Scanlan informed his readers that Algernon Black was not fit to judge charges against devout policemen because as Leader of the Ethical Culture Society, Black did not believe in a "personal God" and in his career had championed many pro-Communist causes.

In this setting, it is reasonable to believe that Congressmen Carey and Delaney would have rejected a direct command to endorse the Board from Lyndon Johnson himself.

Too Little Too Late

In fairness to the *Tablet* or at least to the Brooklyn Chancery office, it is also true that many conservatives in the diocese have been repelled by the newspaper's sympathetic and extensive coverage of civil rights activities during the past two years. Hardly an issue anymore fails to contain five or six photographs of Negroes in interracial settings. But again, there is some question whether the projection of qualified Negroes still in the ghetto into the white consciousness will in any way change the racial status quo. The experience of other cities with histories of more astute Catholic leadership suggests that on this score, employing old formulas, the Church, like the labor leaders who failed to carry the Review Board, may be too late.

Progressive declarations and deeds by Cardinal Shehan failed to blunt a decisive backlash vote among Baltimoreans for fellow Catholic George Mahoney, who campaigned for Governor of Maryland with the solitary slogan "Your home is your castle." Polish Catholics stoned and cursed nuns marching with Rev. Martin Luther King into lily-white areas of Chicago and in Gary, Indiana, defied churchmen in choosing George Wallace for President in a 1964 Democratic primary.

Charles Monahan of the New York *Times* has said that Catholics in the big cities feel alienated from most of the vital new urban movements; with one eye on the suburbs, they do not identify or sympathize with, for example, "happenings" in New York City parks, refurbishing brownstones, poetry reading in coffee houses, community action in the ghettos, and, least of all, with the concept that a qualified black man should be able to rent or buy wherever he chooses.

The new aliens have resented overtures to the new urbanites by political leaders from their own stock. John Kennedy, in his lifetime, Pat Brown of California, Mayors Jerome Cavanaugh of Detroit and Richard Daley of Chicago, they say, did too much for the Negroes. It was not uncommon to hear Catholic Bob Wagner of New York referred to as the "Jewish Candidate" and thus guilty of a multitude of sins. John Lindsay, of course, is both a New Liberal type and a WASP, so the alienation here is complete.

Monahan rightly calls for the building of bridges of communication between the new city halls and the sullen ethnic groups that once dominated big city politics. But how to build? I suggest that a prerequisite is a revolution of attitudes among members of the Liberal Establishment but, sadly, no such revolution seems to be in the making.

It is apparent from the above discussion that many elements of the mixed-bag liberal coalitions in the Northern cities, which on various issues have included the labor unions, the philanthropies, the Democratic "bosses" and, sometimes, the churches and the legal profession, either themselves have moved out of the mainstream of city life or are baffled because the old answers will not solve the new problems.

Again, the hangup is race. Charles S. Silberman in *Crisis in Black and White* argues that every racial issue can be found in the big cities and, conversely, that there is no major urban problem that does not concern race. New York's Review Board quarrel is only one of the most recent illustrations. Current efforts to radically reform public assistance administration, for example, undoubtedly will evoke a racial backlash from whites who have been taught to view relief as a dole for the aged or the morally unfit and will refuse to be persuaded, at least by the reformers, that generations of dependency breed whatever reality exists behind the "crime in the streets" that so terrifies them.

Organized labor and its allies in Congress since 1935 have been so preoccupied with extending social security benefits as the answer to their members' relief needs that they have neglected both the God-fearing working men and the retired pensioners who require public assistance to supplement low wages and small pensions.

In liberal New York, an appellate court on November 16th rejected the city's proposal for legal services for the poor communities on the grounds that the contemplated neighborhood storefront operations would not be subject

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to the traditional controls but, by implication, because the judges and the bar associations gagged at the prospect of attorneys on OEO salaries visiting slum tenants to advise them of their legal rights to go on rent strike or to picket the Welfare Department. Since the decision may cost the city almost three million dollars this year in federal funds earmarked for legal services to the poor, at best it is fair to say that the Court was not overly sensitive to the need for such free services.

Finally, on the most sensitive issue of all, when middle-class Negroes born since World War II begin marching on Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, it is apropos to ask how will the clergy, the union leaders and the politicians respond? To be sure, in the present climate of liberal opinion, not with open arms.

The gigantic vote against New York's Civilian Review Board merely highlights the deeper problem. If anyone scored a victory on that issue on November 8th, it was Stokely Carmichael and it remains to be seen whether those who deplore the special brand of racism implied in the "black power" concept are willing to devise ways to prove that Carmichael has indeed misjudged whites.

COMMENT

POST-BIBLICAL CHRISTIANITY

DANIEL CALLAHAN

Among the widely hailed triumphs of Vatican II was its reaffirmation of the centrality of Scripture in the Church. In particular, "The Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation" was singled out (by Gregory Baum for one) as perhaps the major achievement of the Fathers. Therein was laid, so the argument went, the basis both for ecumenical advance and for putting beyond all doubt the subordination of the Church and its magisterium to the Word of God. Though the Constitution on Revelation did not quite assert the absolute primacy of Scripture as the norm by which the Church and the Christian are to be measured, it took an important step in that direction. By interpreting "Tradition" as the Church's understanding and explanation of Scripture—rather than a separate source of Revelation—it moved a long way toward cutting through the earlier confusions of the "two-source" theory of revelation supposedly immortalized by the Council of Trent.

In harmony with the common (progressive) chorus I also hailed these developments and all they mean for the liturgy, for the overcoming of a dead scholasticism and for placing history once again at the heart of Christian reality. Now I have some second thoughts. They do not spring from any disappointment in the practical results now becoming visible when Scripture is heavily used in the liturgy or on more informal occasions; these results have been enormously beneficial and liberating. Nor, lord help us, do they arise from any doubts about the way Scripture has been employed to remind authority that it *must* serve. Nor do they come from any misgivings about the use of biblical concepts to take the place of the sclerotic lingo of the canonists. Nor, finally, do they spring from watching "Tradition and the traditions" (to use the title of Père Congar's book) subjected to some hard scrutiny.

My hesitations stem from what sometimes strikes me as nothing less than an incipient bibliolatry, by which I mean the assumption that whatever is not rooted in Scripture has no place of significance in Christian thought. Thus we are constantly exhorted to return to the "spirit of the Gospels," as if no other spirit or source of Christian wisdom can count for much. Or we are told that the need today is for a "biblical metaphysics" to replace a man-made metaphysics. One could easily get the impression that all we know and all we need to know is to be found in Scripture, whether the subject be the state, war and peace or economic life.

There is an expression for all this, summed up in the great Reformation principle of *sola scriptura*. Historically speaking, of course, it was a principle which underwent much buffeting, and in Protestantism itself. Even the Reformers were forced to come up with a way of dealing with the difficulties of isolated passages; hence, the principle *Scriptura scripturae interpres* (Scripture is the interpreter of Scripture) came into active use, entailing the reading of parts of Scripture in the light of the whole. This remains an important Christian legacy, but should not obscure the fact that however firmly post-Reformation thought tried to be faithful to *sola scriptura* it could not easily be done. If nothing else (as Robert McAfee Brown has repeatedly insisted) "people inevitably read the Bible in the light of a denominational or theological heritage, and . . . in the light of their contemporary situation" (*The Spirit of Protestantism*). Brown does not bemoan this inevitable cultural and theological conditioning, for, once recognized, "then we can listen with new attentiveness to Scripture to see in what ways it may challenge that tradition and situation." As a way of putting the problem, of holding onto *sola scriptura* in a modified, realistic way, Brown's formulation is very close to the

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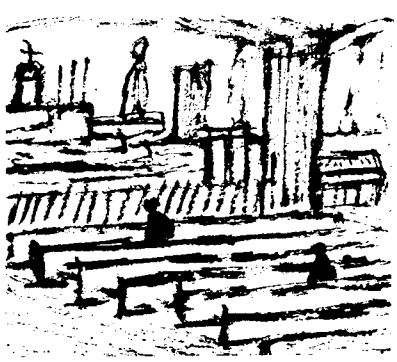
way the Constitution on Revelation is being interpreted by Catholics.

Yet all such reformulations leave hanging in the air a question which is pressing in upon us ever more sharply: by what norms is Scripture itself to be judged, not isolated passages but central themes? For implicit in the principle of *sola scriptura* is the assumption that for the Christian there can be no court of appeal beyond Scripture. This is true also of recent Catholic versions of *sola scriptura.* Ultimately, we all stand under the judgment of Scripture, but Scripture itself can be judged by no man, nor judged by principles foreign to Scripture—this I take to be the core meaning of *sola scriptura.* Needless to say, many standard distinctions are made in elaborating this point; for instance, that it is perfectly permissible for the Christian to make use of the secular tools of literary and historical analysis in trying to grasp the meaning of Scripture, including such specialized tools as form-criticism.

But the point is that these are by now "standard" distinctions, none of which is meant to give a Christian license to set over against Scripture some other norm whereby to call into judgment its central, religious meaning. Interpretation, yes; judgment, no. To be a Christian *means* to stand under the judgment of Scripture, not to stand in judgment on Scripture.



Now if I have succeeded in expressing contemporary Protestant and Catholic belief, then the question I asked above about norms for judging Scripture can, presumably, be answered by the Christian in one way only. There aren't any! This I take to be the trump card of the biblicists, to be played against presumptuous philosophers, dogmatic theologians, popes and councils (not to mention those wretches, the sociologists). In the face of this onslaught, one can see, though, why the "two-source" theory of revelation—Scripture *and* Tradition—had (and has) its attractions. At least it allowed a dialectic to be established between the accumulated historical experience of the Church and the deliverances of Scripture. The additional (and later) notion of a "living magisterium" was an even more attractive addition, setting up a three-way interplay.

However close the Constitution on Revelation comes to *sola scriptura* in the Reformation sense, it draws back from wholehearted assent, presumably because the Council Fathers were not willing to see this interplay destroyed. Of course the reason why the biblical purists want to go the whole way is precisely their suspicion that the effect of the interplay is to bring in foreign norms by means of which Scripture can be set aside or minimized when it conflicts with the secular (or other) needs of the institutional Church. And this, in their eyes, amounts to nothing else than a subtle way of passing judgment on the sharp demands of Scripture.

My problem is two-fold. With the purists (and maybe they are an abstraction of my own making), I can agree that the interplay of Bible-Tradition-Magisterium seems, historically, to work against Scripture. Instead of being open to Scripture, the Magisterium used it to proof-text positions arrived at in un-Scriptural ways. The interplay pays homage to Scripture, but not to the point of allowing it to put Tradition or the Magisterium in a harsh light. This obviates the possibility of radical reform. Moreover, since the "living magisterium" claims for itself alone the right to say definitively what Scripture means, and what Tradition delivers, it thereby exempts itself from the kind of radical judgment implied in a total openness to Scripture. This has always made Protestants and biblical purists uneasy, and rightly so.

But my problem with the biblical purists is that I see a continuing need for an interplay, yet a far richer one than that of Bible-Tradition-Magisterium. First, there is the need to see that we come to the Bible as free persons, blessed with reason and the need to ask questions. We can no more park our reason and its reflections on human experience at the door of the Bible than anywhere else. As long as we possess reason we must, then, leave open as a logical possibility (even if it should never come to pass) the rejection even of elements central to the core meaning of the Bible. Unless our acceptance of Scripture is a free acceptance, it will be an inhuman acceptance, and full freedom entails the possibility of choosing against Scripture. In this sense, there can never be any final commitment to the Bible, at least final in the sense of a once-and-for-all decision never to withdraw our commitment to Scripture no matter what negative indications might arise. If we come to Scripture as rational man (in the richest sense of the word, which includes humility and self-criticism), then we must continue to be rational man. Scripture cannot compel us to cease being what we must be to remain human and free.

Secondly, however, it needs to be made clear that something more is involved here than a mere recourse to freedom of conscience. Someone could, I suppose, say that that is all my first point comes down to. Let me scotch that reading. It seems to me likely that the future of Christian and theistic speculation depends upon the ability of the Christian community to interrogate the Bible from a respectfully critical stance. It *may* also force the community into a rejection of some of what it *means*

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(rather than what it *says*, a critical problem more or less solved by the exegetes long ago). Should this rejection be required by the demands of truth, it would be a serious evasion to pass it off only as the legitimate fruit of "freedom of conscience." This would be only to say that it is wrong, but that the speculators have the human right to be wrong. More than once has an affirmation of freedom been defensively employed as a way of closing one's ears to what is being said.

Third, if the Bible must be judged, it would most appropriately be judged by the community. Only in this way could a living relationship with the past be maintained, and only in this way could there be any assurance that a movement to judge Scripture would be a movement inspired by the Spirit. All of which is only to say that it does not strike me as inconceivable or logically contradictory that the Spirit could lead the Christian community away from at least part of what the Spirit communicated to a much earlier generation. The crucial word is "part." To suggest that the Spirit could lead the community to a rejection of the whole of biblical revelation would make a hash of the privileged testimony of the Apostolic era. The Bible must remain at the heart of the Christian life. Yet as Professor James Barr of the University of Manchester nicely puts it in a new book, *Old and New in Interpretation*. (Harper & Row, $5.50), "It is in fact conceivable that we can state the truth about God better than the Bible does. . . . The reason for the centrality of the Bible for the Church is not that its statements are necessarily superior but that they are the ones through which the conflict and victory have been won."

In the face of the biblical purists, or those who want some form of *sola scriptura*, I want, then, to assert the continuing need for an interplay among the various sources of Christian knowledge. If the kinds of problems now facing Christianity point in any direction, it seems to me they point to a desperate need that the Christian community be prepared to go beyond Scripture. It is open to us, naturally, to tell ourselves we remain centered in Scripture—all we need do is lard our prose and our visions with vague references to love, salvation history, eschatological fulfillment and the coming Kingdom of God. But how long will this kind of reverent generality work? Not for long, I suspect. Sooner or later we are bound to see that mankind has come a long way since Apostolic times. Many of the problems we now face—think of cybernation, genetic manipulation, electrical and chemical control of behavior, urbanization—are simply not amenable to "biblical" solutions. We may get an insight here, or a hint there in the Bible, but that is all; and it is not enough.

However hard we work, we are not likely to succeed if we try to go back to Scripture in quest of a single, normative source of Christian understanding. We need a new interplay, one which recognizes that ours is becoming a post-biblical Christianity. Look at what we do, not at what we say! And we do what we do, not always because we are weak, but sometimes because we have to, because Scripture proves itself inadequate. We are then forced to set out on our own and leave Scripture behind.

Scripture will, should and must continue to have a special place, but its privileges will not be exclusive. It will be part of a larger interplay—"tension" might be a better word—among the privileges of individual reason, communal consensus, tradition, authority, contemporary experience and the unforseeable promptings of the Holy Spirit. Not only is *sola scriptura* impossible; so too is *sola* anything whatever. We are not going to get out of our difficulties that easily.

(I'm pleased to say that Michael Novak will begin sharing this department with me in the future; we will alternate our columns.—D. C.)

CORN AND SENTIMENT

THE SCREEN

Perhaps MGM's plans for making a musical film from their much-loved "Goodbye, Mr. Chips" inspired Walt Disney to hurry up with "Follow Me, Boys!" Now that Richard Burton has withdrawn from the "Chips" project, Disney needn't have hurried. But in any case, he has "Follow Me" ready for Christmas release, and loaded as it is with corn and sentiment, it promises to be a money-winning plum pudding.

"Follow Me, Boys!" tells the story of Lemuel Siddons who arrives in the little town of Hickory in 1930 and decides to give up barnstorming as a saxophonist with a third-rate band and settle down in this pleasant rural community. He gets a job in Charlie Ruggles' general store, although he hopes to be a lawyer some day; and he sets out to win the pretty bank cashier (Vera Miles). Knowing that she is disturbed by the town's mischievous boys, Lem starts his courtship campaign by proposing at a town meeting that they have a Boy Scout Troop to keep the boys off the streets; and he even offers to organize the troop. So begins the tale of Scoutmaster Lem, and the role is played with warmth and nice comedy touches by Fred MacMurray who looks more convincing in the latter part of the film which covers some 20 years than in the early 1930 scenes when he is subjected to some rough going and panting marches with the active youngsters.

I haven't read MacKinlay Kantor's *God and My Country*, on which Louis Pelletier based his screenplay, so I don't know how closely it follows the book, but I have seen "Goodbye, Mr. Chips," "Boystown," and similar movies, so I am familiar with the pattern. In Lem's troops through the years are good boys and bad boys, all becoming better boys as Lem fathers them and teaches them how to tie knots and hike and be more manly. All the

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cliches are there, even the bad boy whose father, the town drunk, dies; this gives Lem and his pretty, childless wife opportunity to offer this hurt and angry boy a home: "We need you as much as you need us."

As the eccentric, rich old lady, Lillian Gish is charming. Boy Scouts don't have to help *her* across the street. But when she gives land worth half a million to the Scouts, her nephew declares her wacky, but our Scoutmaster, who never does become a lawyer, defends her in court. So everybody goes on loving Lem—especially the many boys who were in his troops through the years. I do wish, however, just to make things a touch real that some of Lem's boys had turned out to be real stinkers, or that the film, since most of it takes place in the '30s and shows accurate settings and costumes and automobiles, had also shown some of the depression miseries of those years and the World War II years that followed. My greatest row with "Follow Me, Boys!" is its 131-minute running time, which is an awful lot of minutes devoted to surface Americana and cloying wholesomeness. Little kids will probably enjoy every one of those 131 minutes. I'm not sure that a one-sided picture like this is good for them—but then, perhaps as a Christmas treat. And if you have to accompany them, go out for a cigarette every 30 minutes, particularly the unhealthy kind.

Honest realism doesn't necessarily make for pleasant movies, but it very often makes for lively ones. "Alvarez Kelly" is very lively. Director Edward Dmytryk has kept this film, a kind of Civil War western, on the move continuously; and the good cast, headed by William Holden, Richard Widmark, Patrick O'Neal, and such attractive belles as Victoria Shaw and Janice Rule are helpful in keeping the action going. The script is based on a true incident in the war, an incident that Lincoln called, "the slickest piece of cattle stealing I ever heard of." Kelly (Holden) an Irish-Mexican who doesn't give a damn which side he fights for as long as he's paid well, is leading a herd of cattle from Mexico to Richmond for the Union Troops. Widmark, a Reb colonel, steals the herd and, necessarily, Holden too. The excitement that follows is terrific, not only for the large-scale action scenes, but also for the duels between Widmark and Holden and at times the two women too. Some of this is definitely not for the kiddie trade; and even adults may be a trifle squeamish about some of the bedroom stuff and the violence. But no one will find "Alvarez Kelly" dull.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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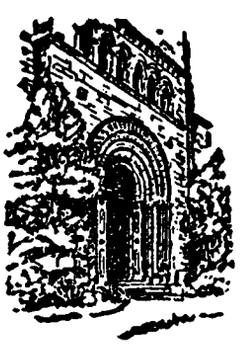

Prospective students should make early application

THOMAS MERTON

ELEGY FOR A TRAPPIST

(Fr. M. Stephen, O.C.S.O.)

Maybe the martyrology until today
Has found no fitting word to describe you
Confessor of exotic roses
Martyr of unbelievable gardens

Whom we will always remember
As a tender-hearted careworn
Generous unsteady cliff
Lurching in the cloister
Like a friendly freight train
To some uncertain station

Master of the sudden enthusiastic gift
In an avalanche
Of flower catalogues
And boundless love.

Sometimes a little dangerous at corners
Vainly trying to smuggle
Some enormous and perfect bouquet
To a side altar
In the sleeves of your cowl

In the dark before dawn
On the day of your burial
A big truck with lights
Moved like a battle cruiser
Toward the gate
Past your abandoned and silent garden

The brief glare
Lit up the grottos, pyramids and presences
One by one
Then the gate swung red
And clattered shut in the giant lights
And everything was gone

As if Leviathan
Hot on the scent of some other blood
Had passed you by
And never saw you
Hiding among the flowers.

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BOOKS

The political essays of Irving Howe

Steady Work

IRVING HOWE

Harcourt, Brace, $6.95

EMILE CAPOUYA

Early on in reading this book of essays written in the past thirteen years, I began to feel less consciously virtuous than usual —something was wrong. I re-read my own review of Irving Howe's last such collection, and felt my heart sink. In that review, I took Mr. Howe to task for lots of things, and at this distance in time I can only wonder who died and left me boss of the literary-political scene. One thing is sure: The umbrage I felt free to take now looks strangely like partisan malice. The oddity is that the esteem I felt for Mr. Howe was not a bit less than it is now, even as my annoyance with his specific political conclusions is not less now than it was then. Of course, my intemperate review could scarcely hurt him; but yet it did some injury to the truth. Since the issues are serious, I am going to try again, and may some good spirit gently correct my tongue.

Mr. Howe is a socialist in a very old-fashioned sense of the term. The material and conventional limitations on human freedom he regards as being just that, material and conventional. He assumes that if material conditions should change so as to permit an enlargement of freedom, conventions can and should change in the same sense. He knows, as do all men living in this century, that material change can be deliberately provoked. He asserts what others deny, that social arrangements can also be re-made by design —indeed, that re-shaping material conditions inevitably brings about corresponding changes in the social fabric.

Mr. Howe at one time believed that proletarian revolution was the best means of enlarging freedom in the capitalist countries. He was a follower of Trotsky, the most far-sighted, the most generous, and at the same time the most intransigent of the Bolsheviks. As it happened, the authoritarian strain in Trotsky was as deep as was his genuine dedication to the ideal of human freedom, the universal expansion of the manlike faculties. At the same time of Mr. Howe's adherence, the Trotskyist movement had the good fortune—speaking paradoxically—to be out of power and to be savagely persecuted by the Stalinists. Accordingly, the Trotskyists were not obliged to justify the horrors of the Stalinist regime. By an accident of history they partly escaped a complicity in monstrous evil that helped distort the characters of the adherents of the successful faction. The best of them addressed themselves to the task of criticizing Russian communism from a socialist standpoint, preferring that arduous discipline to relapsing into the comfortable and prosperous certainties of the capitalist ideology.

The best of them were severely chastened by the knowledge that their having escaped the responsibility for purges, deportations, and executions was a matter of good luck rather than good management, and they drew from the lesson an increased devotion to democratic forms as guarantors of political decency. And in the happiest cases, they acquired a permanent distaste for the *raison d'état*, whether the excuse was "building socialism" or "defending the free world."

Now the argument stands like this: The United States, the most powerful nation in the world, leader of the most powerful bloc, finds her hegemony threatened by nations that make up the majority of mankind. Those nations, moved by pressures that are the very essence of the present historical period, are driven to raise their standards of living as rapidly as possible. In theory, America devoutly wishes for such a consummation. In practice, the first obstacle to be got around in the poor countries' struggle to modernize their economies is the control over their lives and wealth exercised by the world market, which is dominated by the United States and her allies.

Unrest in the poor countries, stimulated by the example of Russia and China, and sometimes by the moral and material support of those states, tends to express itself in terms of political revolution. The United States will give arms and send armies to assist regimes that promise to suppress the revolutionary movements. Internally, while enjoying war-prosperity, the country suffers from confusion about its proper role in the world, from division, disaffection, cynicism. Young people are especially prone to give up on America, and many of them have gone on strike. In these circumstances, what should a radical be thinking of?

Remember that a radical of Mr. Howe's stamp cannot believe that cybernetics is shortly going to solve America's internal problems by supplying her with a caste of Platonic Guardians—engineers and social scientists—who will plan everything and see to it that everything is nice. That kind of socialism is clearly a post-graduate capitalism, interested in rationalizing and confirming the already well-established control of men by machines, ratifying their subjection to the engineer's calculus of efficiency. Taylor, thou art mighty still!—but not in Mr. Howe's book. Neither does he feel that the intellectual's place is, with the rest of the *Frauenzimmer*, in the home. What, then, should he be thinking of, agitating for?

Well, seeing that our government has invaded Vietnam, allying itself with a clique of generals and a claque of landowners to murder the people and lay waste the country, perhaps he should be thinking of ways to persuade his fellow-countrymen to hold back their hands from this slaughter. A war fought with poison gases, napalm, crop-destroying chemicals —it is not nor can it come to good. And indeed Mr. Howe is very much against the war, and in an essay that originally appeared in the *New York Review* he drew up a list of demands for the anti-war movement that included cessation of the

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bombing of North Vietnam and readiness to treat with the Vietcong.

But the main intent of the article—signed, among others, by Michael Harrington and Bayard Rustin—was to administer a reproof to the existing anti-war movement for tolerating among its marchers and protestors a handful of young hierophants whose publicly celebrated mysteries center upon the flag of the Vietcong. He criticized the movement for adopting, in one New York City demonstration, the placarded slogan, "Stop the war in Vietnam." Simplistic and disingenuous, was his comment. He listed in his essay the kinds of demands the demonstration should have put forth—presumably on microfilm, for they consist of five separate items amounting to five good mouthfuls. Strangely enough, the program does not include any such statement as the following, which is really the burden of the essay: "We do not now nor will we ever countenance in our movement hotheads, extremists, beatniks, new-style Stalinists, Chinese-Albanians, infantile leftists, or other unclubbable types. Accept no program as genuine that does not carry our official endorsement."

In his preface to *Steady Work*, Mr. Howe says that he hopes his book will be read and pondered by the youngest generation of radical militants, whom he regards with affection and concern. Not a chance. For one thing, he has given SNCC the same treatment as the peace movement—Black Panthers are to him as diversionary as Black Muslims, because, with Michael Harrington, he has pinned his hopes on exercising influence upon the so-called left wing of the Democratic Party. There is to be no unauthorized radicalism, for fear of provoking liberal backlash.

As a policy, this is, as the French say, a derision. Tactically speaking, the only hope Mr. Howe has of influencing the left-wing Democrats (I suppose he has in mind some twenty Representatives, Senators, diplomats, and presidential advisors) is for there to be a wave of serious agitation way over on his left. Under no other circumstances does he have a prayer of getting the Administration or the country to consider his own milder measures. Possibly Mr. Howe, Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Rustin already enjoy some access to the officials mentioned above, and possibly that gives them a sense that they are already exercising influence. I trust they are, but in that case the steam comes from the actions of draft-resisters, tax-resisters, rent-strikers, rioters, and stop-the-war-in-Vietnam types who can make Mr. Howe and his associates look pretty good, by contrast, to their interlocutors in government.

A large and objectionable part of Mr. Howe's political effort over the past few years has been his periodic excommunication of the militant young for engaging in a radical politics that does not have his pontifical blessing. May I say, without the least intention of patronizing a better man than myself, that by introspection I can discern something of his problem, and that I am forced to regard it sympathetically. My friends and I also stand ready to assume the political leadership of the young radicals (I mean that quite seriously, but in the circumstances it is bound to sound like a joke), and we have not been asked to do so, won't be, more's the pity.

We too have something valuable to contribute to radical politics—some acquaintance with past history, concern for humane values, respect for democratic methods—and we should very much like to conduct the revolution under our banners. Well, that is not the way things seem to be going. Nevertheless, a gentlemanly distaste for the youthful agitators and a dismissal of their efforts as un-political is just plain wrongheaded. Theirs is the only politics going, outside of the great running compromise of the status quo—a consensus that seems tacitly to have accepted the risk of atomic war as the price of the game. Michael Harrington assumes that *that* is the only game in town, as the conclusion of his book, *The Accidental Century*, makes clear, and since he means to affect the history of his times, he moves instinctively to where he thinks the history is. Apparently, Irving Howe makes much the same assessment of the case.

It is as if these writers had adopted a settled policy of opposition to the young dissenters, mitigated by exceptions suggested by their own intelligence, decency, and practical good sense. But that is to stand the situation on its head. It would be much better to say, No enemies on the left! and reserve the right to disagree in specific instances, on specific issues. For the plain fact is that the entire left is very nearly powerless, and to discountenance the most militant, idealistic, and uncompromised element, the radical young, is to discountenance the active principles of its virtue. When radical intellectuals address themselves to the mythical left-wing of the Democratic Party, they invite remarks like the recent one of President Johnson: You're paid to think for me, not against me. As long as I'm issuing the checks, you'll please to keep your ears open and your mouths shut. Mr. Howe was moved to answer Mr. Johnson, and he did it very well—with no thought, apparently, that his own program is a step toward the collaboration that had earned the intellectuals Mr. Johnson's familiarity and contempt.

On the face of it, Irving Howe, Michael Harrington, and Bayard Rustin are not men to shy away from unpopular causes or policies out of servile calculation. They have all given abundant proofs of their courage. I believe that their common political tendency can be explained as a minimum program adopted in despair of the possibilities for fundamental reform. What they seem to me to overlook is that the world is in crisis—a fair-sized oversight indeed—and that the present social arrangements, national and international, do not have a ninety-nine-year lease on the property.

Accordingly, reasonable men can cherish hopes of a more humane polity than the one we have now. At the same time, to effect change in a desirable direction takes enormous effort. Dr. Martin Luther King had to march for days and have bottles thrown at him before the city of Chicago would clap sprinklers on a dozen fire-hydrants—that is a measure of the forces involved. In this state of affairs, it is the duty of political intellectuals to make demands rather than concessions, to radicalize their own expectations, and generally make it difficult for the country to go on betraying its best ideals, whether in murderous forays abroad or in mindless abuse at home of the air, the

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water, and the very earth we are supposed to cherish. In short, what is required of them is patriotism, the courage to stand apart while the nation is acting disgracefully. Leave to the House Un-American Activities Committee the job of casting out the Vietcong motes. The beam in our eye is racial injustice, economic waste, physical spoliation of our own country, mass murder of another country's peasants. Engulfed as we are by these crimes, influence on the left wing of the Democratic Party be damned.

Black Angels

BRUCE JAY FRIEDMAN

Simon and Schuster, $4.50

MARTIN TUCKER

No one story towers above the others in Bruce Jay Friedman's new collection; they are all equally coated with bitterness and brilliance, and a kick that surprises even when it is expected. His fourth book following in the acclaim of *Stern* and *A Mother's Kisses* is less dependent on the surface for its Jewish milieu; its characters rarely mention their nominal religion, but the feeling of an alien stance in a boxed-in world remains.

Friedman's people are all pretty much successful; they have risen from one ghetto into a more gilded trap. Having rejected or at least suspended Judaism and Marxism, they seem rootless; they are Jews in a city which accepts them with open arms but an indifferent heart. All the things for which their fathers have suffered now belong to them; and they still are not happy. Their suffering is a funny kind of suffering, but it is all *theirs,* no one can take it away. If their roots have been dug up and flung out—willingly by them in an earlier time—they have their obsessions and their reminiscences of the past. No matter if it is a past embroidered by present fantasies; it is the past they want to have.

Thus, in "Brazzaville Teen-ager," a son who has never been able to feel close to his father deludes himself into a belief that he can save his father from dying by some obeisance, a weird humiliation, to the gods. The son convinces his boss to sing a rock-and-roll tune for a shady record company and later to flip some pancakes in a restaurant window. The tribute works, and the father is restored to health. But the past doesn't really change, not even as it issues into the present. The son brings his father home from the hospital, desperate to hear some confidence from him: "More than ever, Gunther wanted something from the old man, anything. Had he ever stolen anything? . . . What about broads. Was Mom the first he'd ever slept with? Had he ever gone to a cathouse?" The father tells him nothing, not even recognizing the son's desire and curiosity, and the son leaves his father's apartment angry as ever. Characteristically he utters an imprecation, as if he is shrugging his shoulders in a passionate indifference.

Like the hero of "Brazzaville Teen-ager," Friedman's people are searching, though they do not admit to themselves they are on a treasure hunt. They are too arrogantly humble, too full of self-abasement, too envious of power to face the wrath of the gods. They have a religion —but it is one without gods—only angels, angels in distress, angels of humiliation, "black angels," inhabit the pantheon; even the devil is dwarfed in a region in which defeat and frustration rule triumphant.

The search is meaningful in Friedman's work because it is the abiding means by which to restore some glory to an impotent land remembering or imagining its once-ago splendors. Even the husband in "Black Angels" who uses a crew of Negro gardener-repairmen as surrogate parent-analysts is on that ride back to a phantom joyousness. In "The Humiliation," a man obsessed with his own failures—he had been "humiliated" in the War by a staff sergeant, and sees the sergeant fifteen years later in Europe —has to commit some act to break the bind of frustration. As in most of Friedman's stories, the hero fails, bumbles the job because he is unwilling to believe in something for which he can profoundly fight.

Besides the search motif, Friedman has another characteristic device—the punch. Several of his stories deal with fighting, and one, "The Punch," is an account of a coward afraid to throw the punch; when he finally does, and when he succeeds in winning a fight, his wife no longer believes his story. In *Stern,* Friedman's first and deeply-moving novel, the hero had to engage in a fist fight before he could destroy his destructive humility. The fascination with the punch continues in this book; Friedman seems entranced by the spectacle of characters bottling up their frustrations.

Instead of punching, however, Friedman's people cling to vine leaves and fabrications in the hope of attaining nakedness and a commitment to a creed clothed with no shades of meaning. They seem to feel that by placing themselves in situations where miracles of naturalness and strength of commitment have occurred, they will occur again. But they have grown old; and growing old for them means a hardening of the arteries of illusion leading to a promised land.

Yet though down, they are never out. In capturing their resiliency and illogical zest, Friedman has again painted a universe that is painful and entertaining, Jewish and science-fiction, gimmicky and real. It is an achievement worth talking about.

The Sacred Books of Confucius

CH'U CHAI & WINBERG CHAI

University Books, $6.50

Chinese Humanism and Christian Spirituality

JOHN C. H. WU

St. John's University Press, $5

MICHAEL ZEIK

The Chais, father and son, have inherited, and here prove loyal to, a family tradition of Confucian scholarship. In this useful work they present to the public all the principal Confucian classics—rarely to be found in a single English text.

As regards their over-all interpretation of Confucian philosophy, as set forth in the introduction and in the spirit of their translation, the Chais follow what is probably the majority view today: namely, that Confucius is strictly a

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humanist, that he steers clear of all religious questions; and that, consequently, Confucianism is exclusively a philosophy and not a religion. There are grounds for this. When asked by his disciples about death, spirits, and such questions, Confucius always withheld a direct answer. "If you do not know life," he would ask in turn, "how can you know about death?" And the *Analects* tell us further that "The Master never talked about prodigies . . . disorders or spirits."

I am not alone, however, in pointing out that there is another side to the question. Arthur Waley, for one, recognizes that, for Confucius, "humanity" and "goodness"—epitomized in the one great virtue, *"jen"*—have, themselves, a thoroughly mystical quality. *"Jen"* is as high and as near, as noble and as down-to-earth, as the *"Tao"* of Lao Tzu—and, one might add, as "supernatural charity" in Christianity.

Furthermore, on several occasions, Confucius manifested an overriding faith that he was in the care of a watchful Providence. "When the Master (Confucius) was trapped in K'uang," the *Analects* relate, "he said: 'When King Wen perished did that mean that culture ceased to exist? If Heaven had really intended that such culture as his should disappear, a latter-day mortal would never have been able to link himself to it as I have done. And if Heaven does not intend to destroy such culture, what have I to fear from the people of K'uang?' " Again. "The Master said. Heaven begat the power that is in me. What have I to fear from such a one as Huan T'ui?"

And, finally, lamenting over the fact that few would accept his counsel in his own lifetime, Confucius was nevertheless comforted by an intuition that, "Perhaps, after all, I am known; not here, but in Heaven!" It seems to me, therefore, reasonable to acknowledge at least the religious overtones of Confucian teaching.

Not even John Wu, the great Christian scholar of Chinese tradition and culture, goes far enough here, in my estimation. But first a word about the make-up of his book. *Chinese Humanism and Christian Spirituality* is a paperback reprint of several separate essays by Wu on the relationship between Chinese culture and his new-found Christian faith. Here are comparative studies of Confucius and Christ, Lao Tzu and St. Therese of Lisieux, the ethics of Mencius and the natural-law doctrines of St. Thomas.

There are some penetrating and beautiful insights in the work (together with some occasional over-elaborate and paradoxical word-play), but I cannot agree entirely with one of Wu's principal theses—the very one suggested by his title: *Chinese Humanism and Christian Spirituality*. Wu insists on too clear a line of demarcation between the two.

Thus, in a typical passage, Wu writes: "It (Christian joy) knows the Confucian joy, which springs from fraternal love and filial piety; but it transcends it, just as the theological virtues transcend the moral virtues." And, a little further, he writes: "The Christian saint, above all, knows the ecstatic and rapturous joys of the mystics, but, unlike the Buddhists, his transports are not self-induced—he simply rides on the tides of the Holy Spirit."

In all of this there is the gratuitous judgment that the Holy Spirit is *absent* from the moral striving of the Confucian scholar, from the mystical transports of the Taoist or Buddhist sage. He recognizes the goodness, the soundness, the beauty of these non-Christian traditions —indeed, he expounds on them masterfully—but it is only a "natural" goodness, a "natural" soundness, and a "natural" beauty that he sees.

Even a few years ago, few Catholic scholars would have ventured beyond this favorable an evaluation of non-Christian religions; many would even have thought it theologically adventurous to bestow *so* much praise on "paganism." but from this side of the Council, and especially after reading Karl Rahner on the subject, we know that to divide Christianity and non-Christian religions into the neat categories of "supernatural" versus "natural" religion, is to make a pessimistic (and *a priori*) assumption about the operative extent of God's saving power.

For those of us, Christians, for whom the historical incarnation of God is the culminating spiritual experience in life, it remains true that all other religions seem "preparatory." But "preparatory" does not argue "non-supernatural"—does not argue the absence of the Holy Spirit, or His inspiration. Men are not saved, says Rahner, *in spite of*, or abstracting from, their Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, etc.; but rather because of all that is good and holy in these religions. Quite right, we can only come to the Father through Christ. But, in my own view, Christ is more than a name. Christ is a power, an influence, a person, operative in places and at times where His name has not been known.

Yet, despite this difference of opinion with Professor Wu, and fundamental as the difference is, I heartily enjoyed the book, and just as heartily recommend its purchase by those interested in a Christian approach to oriental religions. The reason? The author so well sets forth the excellence of Chinese wisdom-literature —and so enthusiastic is his own response to the beauty of it—that his book is more a support of "post-" than "pre-" conciliar attitudes.

Planning for a Nation of Cities

EDIT. SAM BASS WARNER, JR.

The M.I.T. Press, $8.75

HARRIS DIENSTFREY

In itself, *Planning for a Nation of Cities*, an original collection of social scientific research and analysis concerned with making our cities a better place to live, is a work of little intrinsic merit. The collection contains one notable piece (Jean Gottmann's excellent summary examination of recent population movements in the United States) and several pieces with some useful material (for example, Robert H. Salisbury's concise description in his article, "Education and Urban Politics," of the calculated isolation of city school boards from the communities they serve).

But for the most part, the book is a helter-skelter listing of social and human problems all of which are more or less automatically regarded as major urban problems—at least, the authors rarely

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feel the need to justify them as such—followed by a barrage of proposals and strategies, lightly underscored with broad injunctions for someone to get moving, that the authors believe will bring these disorders under control. No one, incidentally, speaks of solution. The image of the human operation is of a giant machine whose crude hand-made parts will never quite mesh and must always be carefully watched, adjusted, and oiled.

The important question posed by the book is how typical it is, in its approach and attitudes, of the social scientific fraternity as a whole, of the academic community, of all those in government (and some peripheral professions, like law) who have turned to social scientists and the academy to get help in thinking about this country's problems and in devising ways to alleviate them.

The basic starting point of *Planning for a Nation of Cities* is that American cities are in a mess. The collection (which had its origins in a 1964 conference at Washington University) brings together a variety of people who have spent a considerable portion of their professional time thinking about this mess and, in effect, lets them talk it over. The mess is like some giant unknown that can be untangled by the random application of random skills. No single direct view of it rules the discussion. No one even thinks to develop such a view. A rough and ready intellectual variant of political democracy is at work here: every idea, like every vote, is equal to every other.

But not quite, although it is certainly the notion of intellectual equality, the nature of the real world a mild irrelevancy, that allows the inclusion of a statement like Ralph E. Pumphrey's call for "a variety of services . . . to help people detect and deal with" such problems as "taking a new job, getting married, having a baby, moving to a strange community, losing a wife, husband, or child." But there are also political winds and the obscurer winds of fashionability at work.

With these, *Planning for a Nation of Cities* is perhaps more in step than it had anticipated. It takes for granted the general view that slum kids are a big part of the urban mess, and unblinkingly brings them on in their new manifestation as the "disadvantaged" instead of their former *persona* as "delinquents." But the collection also devotes two chapters to "new towns," a topic that already seemed to have had its heyday of popularity, until the recent passage in October of the government's Demonstration Cities Bill, which assigns some funds to such projects. On the other hand, the book gives no indication at all of the active current concern with developing new school curricula and practices. The federal government first showed some interest in the new town idea several years ago. But in the intervening time the big money headed toward education. A shift of sorts may now be underway.

The issue is not that all these changes demonstrate the relative meaninglessness of reality and social action. One contributor to the collection, Bennett M. Berger, takes the position that "social problems, of course, have no objective existence," thereby providing a backhand rationale for his colleagues. The issue is the mindlessness behind the changes, and the unawareness (or at times perhaps, the cynical recognition) that the whole process is not a confrontation of reality but a response to pressures and developments of the moment and to ambitions and a picture of the world that may have everything to do with the psychic life of America but nothing to do with the specific matters at hand. This mindlessness seems to me typical—across the board—of the major organizations and institutions currently engaged in attempting to correct or alleviate the country's social problems.

The intellectual efforts along these lines by *Planning for a Nation of Cities* present a separate issue. In essence, they plump (also fashionably) for new forms of institutional consolidation and coordination either at the federal level or as close to it as one can get. Among all the book's proposals, guidelines, and strategies, not one is concerned with improving the direct relation between an institution and the people who are its constituents. To put the matter simply, there is not a single *citizen* in this book, and government—that public sphere where men come together to decide how they shall be ruled and by whom—has disappeared entirely, transformed into a purely administrative operation mediated by vast collections of information called data banks.

Now, to me, this implicit vision—which in so far as it is not another example of mindlessness is morally despicable—is only a further development of the attitude of condescension that critics have already noted in current writings about, and programs for, the poor and the Negro. At its root, this attitude is more than condescension but a judgment that the poor and the Negro are not yet members of the human community, or, at best, only second-class ones. The editor of this collection, Sam Bass Warner, Jr., without any sense of what he is saying, speaks of the "vast human potential of the lower-class." It is just a judgment, applied against the nation as whole, that seems to me to lie behind this book, for the picture of man that emerges from it is of a stunted, inept being not fully capable of ordering his life in a meaningful way.

How typical is this attitude? Typical enough, I believe, to wonder about the corrosive and poisonous influence this country's treatment of certain of its minorities—the Negro certainly, perhaps the poor, the Indian in perhaps a less historically significant way—may have worked upon the most fundamental of its beliefs: that all men, by virtue of being men, are full members of the human community. Have the racists, for example, denied this for so long in practice, with the country paying no mind, that all the current efforts at help and change are only an affluent, paternalistically-shaped, and unconscious acquiescence to their view—the admission, silent even to its own confessants, that they were right?

Strangers And Graves

PETER S. FEIBLEMAN

Atheneum, $5.95

The Music School

JOHN UPDIKE

Knopf, $4.95

JOSEPHINE JACOBSEN

Between them, John Updike and Peter Feibleman illustrate most of the virtues inherent in short fiction. They are telling

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us quite different things and have different objects in view. The stories of *The Music School* are almost consistently brief, whereas Mr. Feibleman's strangers and graves appear in four novellas. What both books notably have in common is the qualitative judgment, unhampered by disengagement, satire or irresponsibility. Both writers are unabashedly engaged in demonstrating that they consider human beings important, and it is this which gives their work its unseasonable richness and resonance.

Mr. Feibleman is undismayed by dangerous, not to say unpropitious, choices. Here are new novellas, the archetypes of whose protagonists have long literary case-histories: the daughter wracked by her love-hate relationship with her father; the warm and wise madam of a brothel; the omniscient Negro servant; the poor but proud Spaniard, speaking the impossible language of translated idiom. And in the end, the choices pay off dazzlingly.

They pay off—not unbeset by difficulties—largely because Mr. Feibleman writes with a quality daily becoming rarer in fiction. He has passion. Not bravura, not noise, not violence arbitrarily hurled like a heavy object; passion. It is in the very concepts of the stories; it is in the un-cautious intensity of the style, it is in the grain of the children and men and women, and it carries the reader from the first to the last sentence, in its grasp. The stories are so charged with it that sometimes they jerk in their motion; sometimes the individual images are undisciplined by their relationship to the whole. But the climaxes are real. And they are real even though one may have demurred—breathlessly—on the way. Mr. Feibleman simply has the power.

The title tells a great deal about the book. It is a good title, but it is more than that; it adumbrates the book itself. In *Fever*, Thelma, (the colored maid who is so real, and funny, and moving, that she frees herself from comparisons) is talking to the boy: " 'strangers and that cemetery,' she said, 'is all you ever did care about. Only doom you got on you is you will never love anything in your whole life but strangers and graves.' " In these novellas life is seen brilliantly outlined by the shadow of death; and at the crucial point all intimates become, or know themselves to be, strangers.

The boy in *Fever* is haunted by the fact that his mother died when he was so young that he had had no time to form his image in her mind; his friendship with his mentor is really the process of watching her die; and he loses a girl who returns, a stranger. In *Death Of Danaüs*, the father, dying, stares at an inimical and total stranger in his daughter's familiar face. The grandmother in *Along The Coast*, does not recognize herself as she peddles poisonous fish in the shadow of her grandson's death. The son of *Eyes* watches his father turn into a stranger at one sentence of his mother's, and later that same day, die within his still living body. The force, the conviction, the passion of these novellas bite their image into the mind, so that one knows that years later they will still be there. Mr. Feibleman has the pure gift for fiction.

Often Mr. Updike remains within the borders of fiction by poising his story at that exact point where fiction meets fable and poetry, those cousins-german to the short story (*Leaves, Harv Is Plowing Now, The Music School*). He has the poet's practice of capturing an essence, and then allowing it to infuse the total tone. The happiest aspect of this process is that in which the story becomes marvelously reinforced and luminous; the worst, that in which a poetically brilliant metaphor overshadows the story's growth, producing the feeling that those lines subsume all we need to know—that the terms of communication have been shifted. When he writes of a quarreling couple, relapsing into the habit of love, ". . . their bodies collapsed together, as two mute armies might gratefully mingle, released from the absurd hostilities decreed by two mad kings . . .", he has come as close to a complete story as, often, he wishes to come.

Out of twenty stories, nine are concerned, in some degree, with divorce—its prelude, its occurrence, its aftermath. It is hard to think of anyone now writing fiction who has explored more acutely the terrible middle ground—the disastrous area of circumstance, where the body and spirit are alike defeated. Mr. Updike treats the calamity of a marriage's collapse with a penetrating seriousness. And if his consideration results in small cheer, it also results in a clear demonstration of the connection between that collapse, and the failure of the ability to hope. The stories—often bleak, ironic, touched to the bone with the sense of defeat—are still iridescent with the vestiges of hope. It is less a hope for some happy dénouement than for the preservation of the sense of life; the book—for all its confrontations between those betrayed to failure and those who deserve it—has a steady sense of renewal. Like Graham Greene, Updike finds pity a force "powerful as lust"; but below pity, and more important, is the sense of the endlessness of possibility.

Mr. Updike does not function by velocity or plot, because he does not choose to. His fables will not satisfy readers who demand dramas of progression and climax. They circle around their chosen area, closing in upon it only after it has been transformed and re-transformed by the angles of light thrown upon it. The basis of that illumination is put bluntly by the protagonist of the title story, a man "neither musical nor religious," who has come to feel the power of that for which he lacks aptitude. "The world is the host; it must be chewed."

It's a cheering thought that so long as stories of the caliber of these two collections are with us, we shall escape being ground to bits between the fictionalized Documentary and the disguised or undisguised Happening.

The Parnell Tragedy

JULES ABELS

Macmillan, $7.95

PADRAIC COLUM

As narrative, "The Parnell Tragedy" is the best book that has been written about the leader whose personality is reflected in James Joyce's prose and in Yeats's occasional poems. The political and historical interest need not occupy so much of the foreground as it once did, and a man whose tragedy it was to have his life as a person and his life as a leader terribly entangled can now be more clearly presented to us. Mr. Abels presents Parnell

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as a person without skimping the politics and the history. But to my mind the abiding interest in Parnell's biography is the mystery of leadership.

His is the classic outline of this mystery. He was an aristocrat who made himself the champion of a tenantry; he was a Protestant who led a people who were Catholic; he was an austere man who became the absorbed lover of a woman who was a wife and mother; he was a straightforward man who involved himself in dishonorable subterfuges. Such contradictions could have intensified a personality and so have given power as a leader. Perhaps in some measure they did. But it is no explanation of the mystery. Parnell had no sense of inner insecurity and he had magnetism, and perhaps these were the essential qualities.

But we must not overstress the mystery. Parnell was not a mere visionary who imposed himself on a party and stumbled upon a tactic by which he came close to tearing from an anti-nationalist governing class autonomy for his country. He was a statesman comparable to the great European statesmen of the nineteenth century. "No man can set boundaries to the march of a nation, and I never shall." That inscription on his monument is a statesman's pronouncement. His declaration on the Home Rule Bill sponsored by Gladstone was recognized by a hostile House of Commons as that of a statesman. "I am convinced that there are a sufficient number of wise and just members of this House to disregard appeals made to passion and to choose the better way of founding peace and good-will among nations; and when the numbers in the division lobbies come to be told, it will be told for the admiration of all future generations that England and her parliament in the nineteenth century were wise enough, brave enough, and generous enough to close the strife of centuries and give peace and prosperity to suffering Ireland."

"The great tragedian and the great comedian of the Irish race," Yeats said, speaking of Parnell and O'Connell. Perhaps the tragedian is one in whose soul there is a dialectic, an affirmation and a negation. The leader without that dialectic is the comedian. O'Connell was a comedian, not because he made jokes and slanged opponents, but because he dominated the people through their emotion and not through what he knew to be their necessity. Practically all political leaders are comedians. Few are tragic. Lenin? De Gaulle? Perhaps it could be said that these two, like Parnell, dominated by giving a people a sense of their destiny.

I have to end this review with a few words of reproof. Frank Harris should not be quoted in giving information about Parnell and Mrs. O'Shea. Harris speaks of meeting them both at a dinner given by Justin McCarthy. She is across from Parnell who never takes his eyes off her. She is a 'sonsy woman. So far, so good. But when he speaks of her "brogue" we know the stuff for bad journalism. Mrs. O'Shea was of the English upper classes and was never anywhere where she could have acquired a "brogue." Harris also speaks of Parnell as being English. He was of English descent, but he always regarded himself as an Irishman—not as an Irish commoner—and he always in-

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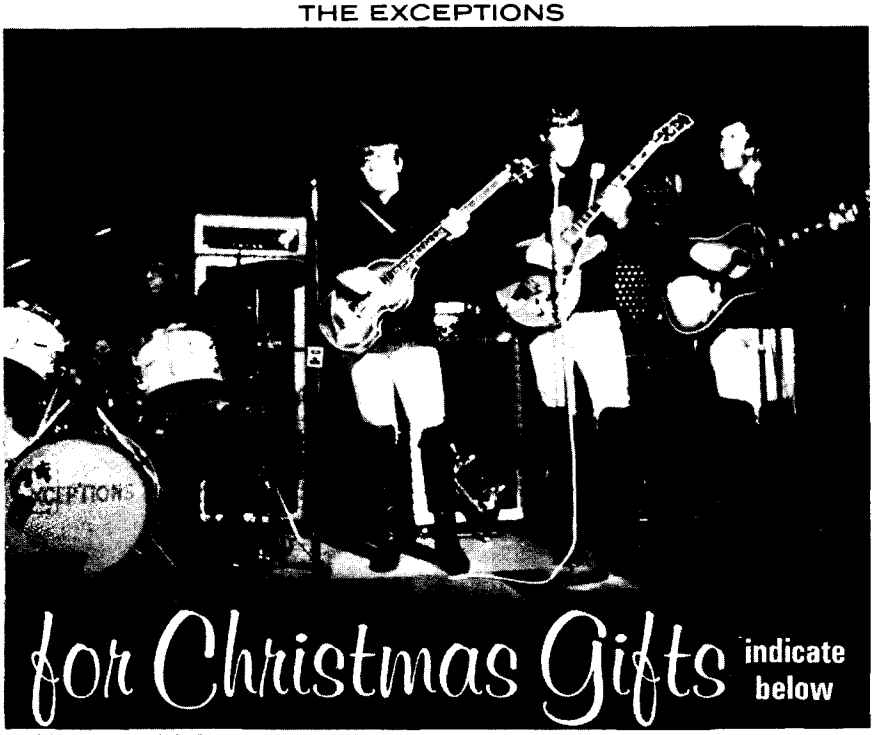

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sisted on that. "The English do not give me an opportunity to concern myself with the affairs of my country. I mean to concern myself with theirs." "Do not throw me to the English wolves." Such unforced utterances show where his race-consciousness lay.

Then Mr. Abels should have discovered a book in which there are conversations between the leader and a farmer for whom he had much esteem—Andrew Kettle. It was published by his son, Lawrence Kettle, about ten years ago. Here—it is in his own home—a gentler, a rather diffident Parnell appears. "By forming the Irish Parliamentary Party and unifying the moral resources of Ireland, he brought it [national freedom] to the verge of realization," Mr. Abels justly declares. He might have added that the dream of national freedom remained and was intensified by his tragic end. He left an heroic image in the minds of the generation that was young at the time of his passing, an image which, in its dissatisfaction with the Parliamentarianism offered by his successors led to the great movements of the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein, out of which grew the Volunteers and the setting up—albeit with what must be a temporary partition—of an Irish nation.

The Christian Image

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER

Duquesne University Press, $4.50

CAROL JOHNSON

Had the parodistic implications of his essays on such topics as "The Word and the Words" ever occurred to the author, this book might well have become the *Nightmare Abbey* of Higher Criticism. As it stands (with the exception of a relatively tranquil concluding appreciation of Chagall), repressed hysteria provides the apparent medium for a sort of theology of poetry: zealous, dogmatic, naive, and frequently incoherent as a freshman theme.

Under the circumstances, it is not only interesting but necessary to try to construe the writer's relationship to his own language as well as to his subject. For Mr. Lawler does not in fact employ words discursively; they tend to an astonishing degree to manipulate him. The most formidable energies of intellect and all the appurtenances of rational discourse are exerted here essentially in the solicitation of the irrational, a misapplication of means that suggests the writer is concealing thereby from himself his real ends.

This ambivalence is further emphasized by the way in which he oscillates (as in "Towards a Poetic of the Word") between literary analysis and apologetics, the poem as "artwork" and as an excuse for evangelizing. A final recommendation to the teacher in this chapter throws some light on his concept of language. Having quoted from Stevens' "The Sense of the Sleight-of-hand Man," he asserts: "Yet one can *condition* himself to verbalize these 'grand flights'" (his italics). And he adds, including the theologian and scientist, "so, too, the great teacher of the arts, energized by humane emotion, must throw his images into another and another calculus of language in order that the transcendental and trans-rational object he is revealing may become more and more evident, until the planes of each succeeding expression he employs gradually take shape and the polygon of his utterance more and more approximates the circle of the object. The inscribed polygon will never identify itself with the circle: the object will never be completely encompassed: but man the knower will know as perfectly as his imperfect faculties allow."

A circle, one may observe, is likewise a zero. This writer is using words neither as counters nor as signs but as a virtually blind act of will, like a fisherman casting an insubstantial net out into a void. What Mr. Lawler is really recommending in all innocence is schizophrenia—a condition, it seems worth noting, that even the mystics (whom he presumably admires) successfully avoided. The latter tend to be as memorable for their practicality as their metaphors, both accommodations being arrived at through familiarity with the things of this world.

But for Mr. Lawler metaphor has got to be "mystery," the expression of "spontaneity" rather than of perceived relation. Oddly enough, he is still talking about teaching when he relegates descriptive language to the intellectual garage as concerned with "exteriority," preferring rather that metaphorical knowledge which "is grasped as one grasps one's own selfness." Indeed, descriptive language, because it is "derived from a material instrument" and is objective, ought to be eschewed even by the "talented and professionally adept" that they may not appear "personally stunted and dwarfed."

In any case, it is only a step to the "daimonic word" which Mr. Lawler favors as the "soul." Meter in poetry accordingly represents "the ordering of chaos" and "puts the silver dew upon the mud. Like alliteration and other sonic devices it distracts us from the literal, factual, prose meaning and translates us into a world of harmony." It is the "arabesque which weaves between the worlds of Aristotle and Plato, between the definite and the infinite." However we are also told that the lyric poet, tuning up as it were, "first hears the logos-harmony and then tries to relate it to some reality in the world of fact."

Since "poetry is spiritual and prose is material" in Mr. Lawler's estimation, the only way to grasp a poem is by another poem. His own explanation of the phenomenon (illustrating a characteristic fondness for hyphens and puns) deserves quotation here, if not anthologizing after: "Poetry dwells in the twi-lights and

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PADRAIC COLUM is the well-known poet and dramatist.

CAROL JOHNSON, a poet, is the author of *Reason's Double Agents* (North Carolina University Press).

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mediates between the loud abstracting sunlight and the silence of incomprehensible darkness. Latin and Anglo-Saxon are the English poet's unique instrument for expressing this oxymoronic character of all art, its character as neither the definite horizontal nor the infinite vertical, but the diagonal of Coleridge's 'chasm which slanted.' Its muse is Keats' Belle Dame who 'sideways would she lean.' The poem weaves like an arabesque between the two poles of day and night, of universal and concrete, of Aristotle pointing down and Plato pointing up, of the definite and the infinite; and like Yeats with his intertwining gyres, the poem would like to have the best of both whorls." As the late master T. S. Eliot so aptly noted from similarly giddy heights, "The way up is the way down."

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 279)

cape for a while the weight of the world. Yet the storefront is more clearly in the midst of men, where the Church must be. Precisely because it is not a place apart, the storefront reminds Christians that their religion is not merely a consolation in a troublesome world, but also a challenge to transform that world. A church clearly speaks God-presence and draws attention to the presence of Christ on the altar. But a storefront more clearly demands an awareness that the Church, the people of God, are the presence of Christ to the world and to each other. . . . Most churches, in brief, can succeed in being God-centered and apart, but do not easily succeed in being sufficiently man-centered and in the world.

To be both in the world yet looking beyond each here-and-now, to be God-centered by being man-centered—in this lies the paradox of the meaning of the Eucharist. . . .

MICHAEL BARNES

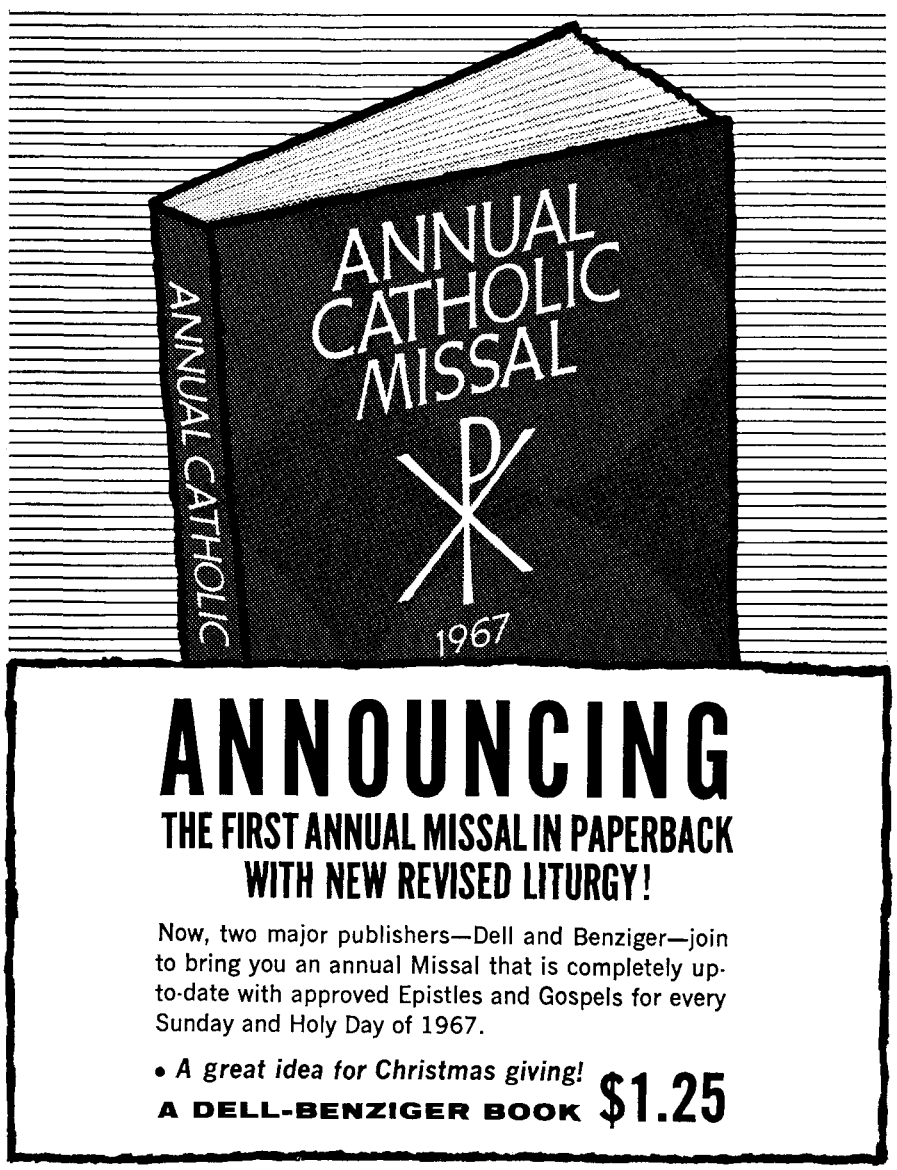
"Religion and War"

Minneapolis, Minn.

To the Editors: James V. Schall ("Religion and War," November 18) makes the point that there is a value or principle of life which makes it possible to expend physical life. Father Schall puts it this way in a rhetorical question: "Is there any longer any value, any way of life that is worth fighting for?" This would seem to imply that mere human existence is not the absolute, but that there is a certain level of existence that is the absolute and that below this it is not worth living. To me this is indicative of a qualitative morality which will sacrifice quantities of men to attain a certain quality of existence. The emphasis here would seem to be on spirit and a mode of Platonic thought. This attitude does not appear to be consistently found in other moral applications.

The supremacy of a value or ideal of life over mere physical life would be nearly absent in the ethical considerations on abortion, suicide, and euthanasia. A quantitative theory seems to dominate these areas so that the values of a happy life and a life without excessive pain are subservient to the value of merely maintaining physical existence.

Catholic morality is more readily able to accept the invocation of the "qualitative" principle for warfare than other areas. Ignace Lepp sums up this inconsistency with these words: "Religion and morality severely condemn abortion, the destruction of a foetus of a few weeks or months that has not yet attained conscious life, but they are infinitely less severe, if not altogether tolerant, with respect to the supporters of war and capital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punishment, even of political crimes. This attitude, in our opinion, reveals an intolerable hypocrisy." (*The Authentic Morality*, p. 103) LARRY LITECKY

"Christian Realist"

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Father Schall's article on *Religion and War* is about the best exposition of the Christian-realist view on the relationship of morals to politics that I have seen in a long time.

But I wonder that it wasn't published by *Triumph* rather than *Commonweal*, for it seems more compatible with the former's ideological orientation than with that of *Commonweal*.

As Father Schall says so disapprovingly, the "religious mind" *does not* give moral primacy to the survival of liberty, democracy or western civilization and its other values—for none of these are of the essence in each person's striving for salvation. The religious mind, especially the Christian one—knows that one will save his soul or lose it regardless of the political, social or cultural milieu within which he lives. To him what is crucial is whether he is faithful to the Gospel.

Now the fact is that being faithful to the teachings of Christ has seldom been "realistic" except in the most profound and fundamental sense of that word—faithful to Ultimate Reality. Christ and his apostles could hardly be called realists by Father Schall's definition, nor the early Christian martyrs, nor Francis of Assisi or Thomas More. All were clearly unaware of, or ignored, the complex realities so clear to the political and military minds of their times. In a word, they were notorious examples of the religious mind at work in the real world.

That Father Schall's critique is free of any scriptural texts to support or illustrate his thesis is not surprising since the religious-minded have pretty much preempted this embarrassing field of battle. But I do seem to remember one saying of Christ that seems to apply very well in support of the Christian-realist point of view: "The master commended the unjust steward in that he had acted prudently; for the children of this world are in relation to their own generation more prudent than the children of the light. And I say to you, make friends of the mammon of wickedness, so that when you fail they may receive you into the everlasting dwellings" Luke 16:8-9.

JOSEPH R. PEDEN

P.S. May I commend you in general for your past attempts to examine the Vietnam war in all its aspects, despite what appears to be some editorial division on the question? That Catholics, as recent polls indicate, should support the war in much greater numbers than Protestant and Jews is another sign of how sick our Church really is.

"Degrees of Evil"

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

To the Editors: It is nice to see in Father Schall's article an increasing awareness in Catholic moral theology that our moral choices may frequently involve not a selection between good and evil but between degrees of evil.

It is to be hoped that this insight will increasingly be applied not only in the area of international relations but also in the area of personal morality where, for instance, the choice "to have a baby or not to have a baby," with contraception or abortion as perhaps the only available means to the second end, will not be treated as a choice between good and evil as it has been heretofore.

The question which really arises in my mind is, how long will it be before our moral theology becomes completely self-consistent? It is tedious to try to reconcile the present "situationist in international policy, absolutist in private morality" tendencies of the Church, and come up with much more than an overall image of wishy-washiness. It appears all too easy to get away with severe spiritual coercion of private individuals, meanwhile exhibiting an amazing permissiveness towards the immoralities of nations.

TRUDIE S. BARRERAS

"Timely Attempt"

Medford, Mass.

To the Editors: James Schall's "Religion and War" is a timely attempt. However, the attempt falls short of significance in three main respects.

1. Nowhere does Father Schall seem aware of the possibility that a quantitative change of sufficient magnitude (i.e., the destructiveness and proliferation of nuclear weaponry) might constitute a qualitative change in the human predicament.

2. Although the scope and perspective of Father Schall's article do not permit any but the sketchiest allusions to Vietnam, there is little evidence among these *obiter dicta* that he appreciates the complexities of the situation. To package that war as a neat opposition of "aggression" and "independence" manifests an ignorance (or unwarranted dismissal) of the objections which responsible observers have raised against such a simplistic assessment.

3. Most remarkably, Father Schall offers an appraisal of war from the standpoint of religion but makes no effort to utilize the New Testament as a criterion for Christian behavior. (Indeed, in his one approach to this dimension, he seems to regret the strictures on force imposed by Christ: "This seems to be a peculiarly Christian and Jewish problem since the Moslems, for example, have little hesitation in combating Communist influence with force when they feel it necessary [as in the case of Indonesia].") Surely, any Christian who wants "to look at the world as it is" cannot ignore the implications of the Incarnation. Or perhaps Father Schall is overly concerned with religion "appearing irrelevant or even dangerous" if it protests the physical suffering and moral degeneration which any war brings (both to the victims and to the "victors").

I hope that *Commonweal* will again present a discussion of this issue; I suggest that an attack more audaciously—and authentically—Christocentric than Father Schall's would prove more meaningful to the thoughtful Christian.

DENNIS V. HIGGINS

Black Power

Plymouth Meeting, Pa.

To the Editors: Charles T. Hayes's letter in your November 4 issue is thought-

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ful but unconvincing. What Mr. Hayes fails to realize is that the "black power" movement represents a retreat from the drive for integration and, even in its more moderate forms, a return to the philosophy of "separate but equal". True, it is a retreat born of frustration and hence is understandable and forgivable. But it is not right and can do great harm to the Negro movement.

"You can have your civil rights . . . you can have your brotherhood," they say. But what is the alternative? A separate Negro community of equal dignity with its own schools, unions, banks and industry? Mr. Hayes would certainly deny this, but it is no accident that he quotes from Malcolm X who is quite frank in his opposition to integration.

Mr. Hayes is right in saying the Negro must demand, not petition, and must assume the leadership of the movement. But responsible Negroes must understand that there is no alternative to integration, slow and frustrating as the progress toward this goal may be. And integration can only be achieved through the cooperative effort of all men of good will. We must not forget what the Supreme Court pointed out—that if a minority group is kept separate it can never be equal.

PHILIP A. BREGY

Secretary Rusk

Rockville Centre, N.Y.

To the Editors: It is humiliating, of course, but a fact of life that the next step in our foreign policy has to be "Establishing Credibility," as your lead Oct. 21 editorial puts it.

Viewing events of the last eighteen months in retrospect, and trying to put one's self in the other fellow's place, there is one outstanding contribution that could be made toward this end: the resignation of Dean Rusk, and, perhaps, the appointment of William Fulbright as Secretary of State. This is the kind of language they not only understand, but often employ themselves; for example the period of alternate incumbency of Litvinov and Molotov.

It may be too much to expect the President to swallow the idea of appointing Fulbright, but I would say that the elimination of Rusk is a *sine qua non*, in view of his many acts and statements that have reflected on our credibility.

HOWARD N. MEYER

Moral Norms

Los Gatos, California

To the Editors: In your October 21st issue, Daniel Callahan commented on the problems experienced by Catholics with regard to traditional moral norms because of new evidence both from the empirical sciences and from their own experience. "The debate on private property, the incipient struggle on divorce, homosexuality, masturbation and suicide . . . show the cumulative impact of new evidence" (p. 77). He suggests that the solution lies in taking evidence more seriously when developing an ethics. A more radical and fruitful question, however, might concern the difference between moral living and Christian living. There are two aspects of our culture which indicate the need for this line of debate: (1) the rise of secular humanism; and (2) the present attitude towards morality among Catholics.

The rise of a religious humanism in the West has made clear to us what should have been clear from a study of history; namely, that a highly nuanced and idealistic morality can be worked out independently of religious commitments. Albert Camus is the hero of this movement in our times, but Camus is not without historical antecedents. Long before the coming of Christ, Aristotle and the Stoics developed a profound moral code, although neither based their arguments on the existence of God or of an after-life. In the East, during the same historical period, Buddha, Confucius, and Lao-tzu worked out an equally exalted theory of how to live humanly.

In our own times, it is painfully clear that unbelievers have often exhibited a more humanistic orientation than have Christians. Social revolutions throughout the world, beginning with Marxism, the labor and the civil-rights movements in our own country, efforts towards world-government, towards the abolition of war, towards the alleviation of hunger and disease in the poor nations

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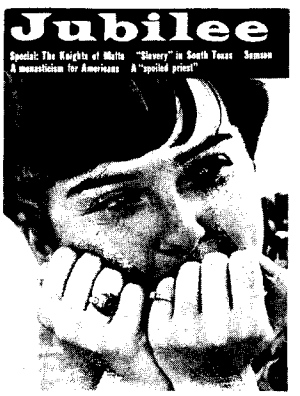

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—none of these have been distinctively Christian movements. There have, indeed, been Christians involved in these movements, and the Popes have often supported them, but the average Catholic can hardly be said to have felt that his morality demanded his taking part in them. In fact, the appearance of Catholic morality in right-wing politics and in efforts to curtail freedom through censorship and through control of education seems to be more the rule.

What can be concluded from these phenomena, I think, is that morality is not intrinsically dependent on religious belief. Ethical precepts are derived by intelligent and dedicated men working out their lives throughout history, trying as best they can to discover ways of furthering the progress of themselves, their families and friends, their fellow citizens, and of mankind in general. Fundamental human values are discovered independently of the institutions within which one finds oneself. They are the possession not of men who believe in God and in the after-life, but simply of men.

The second aspect of our age which suggests a different line of debate is the present attitude of Catholics towards the significance of ethical precepts in their lives as Christians. It seems that many Catholics have come to believe that the touchstone of their Christianity is the body of precepts taught by Catholic moralists, rather than the Pauline touchstone of a living faith in a redeeming God. This is evident, for example, in the attention given by newspapers to shifts in the "Church's" stand on matters of law. Headlines are given to Papal pronouncements about the present status of the pill, and the new look with regard to fast and abstinence. Concerns about the future of Catholicism and doubts about the faith are often presented in the context of moral problems.

There would seem to be a need, then, to make a clear distinction between morality and the life of faith. Morality consists in working out an intelligent and authentic human life; Christianity consists in responding to a redeeming God. The distinctive contribution made by the Christian revelation does not consist so much in telling men what to do, as in making known to them that they are redeemed. The distinctive value of the living community called the Church is not to be found in its pronouncements on moral matters, but in its sacramental communication to all men of the life of God: the immediate sacramental communication to its members in the liturgy; the more universal communication to all men through the witness of its members.

The more empirical bent in ethics suggested by Daniel Callahan is not, therefore, sufficient for meeting the problem he delineates. A revision must also occur within moral theology, where the issue is to distinguish philosophical from Christian ethics, and critically to relate the two areas. The moral theologian must discover, by the use of sophisticated biblical hermeneutics, the ways of acting and the attitudes demanded by the Gospels and the living tradition of the Church. He must be able to ascertain the difference between biblical moral precepts which are time-conditioned and those aspects of morality which are to be considered as revealed. He must also clarify the relation between the ethical and the Christian life suggested by the various New Testament references to law, love, and Judgment.

This shift of emphasis within moral theology would hopefully lead to a more thorough study of the ways of discerning the operation of the Holy Spirit within us. Karl Rahner has argued that this study is crucial in developing a truly Christian, existential, ethics (*The Dynamic Element in the Church*). With this emphasis, moral theology would cease to be a creator of sometimes highly questionable "prescriptive" norms, and would become a guide for Christians wishing to learn the full implications of their commitment to a life in Christ. (MR.) DONALD P. JOHNSON, S.J.

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Money Drives

Saginaw, Mich.

To the Editors: Your recent editorial criticizing perennial drives for money to build and to support ecclesiastical institutions (Sept. 23) fails to identify the real problem. The issue is not whether drives should be undertaken or whether the church is unduly concerned about material support. The real issue is control and accountability. The need to provide a structure which is truly representative of the community and which participates effectively in the development of new institutional goals in terms of contemporary needs and the evaluation of established institutional commitments.

(REV.) OLIN J. MURDICK
Superintendent of Schools
Diocese of Saginaw

Taiwan

Mobile, Ala.

To the Editors: Since Michael Zeik and I became friends while attending the seminar on Chinese Culture and Society this summer in Taiwan, I was interested in reading his article on "The Other China." While I agree with most of his impressions, I would also like to make a few mild criticisms.

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In the first place it is important to stress the differences that exist between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders who came over after World War II and during the Chinese civil war. Most Americans are unaware of the fact that the native Taiwanese consider the mainlanders as carpetbaggers who looted the island and killed 10,000 people in the riots of 1947.

Mr. Zeik, however, seems to play down the bitterness that exists between the two groups. He says that the Taiwanese are content to wait and gain control over the island in the future by taking over the business community first and then moving into politics.

I wonder if Mr. Zeik plays down these differences because most of our information on race relations came from mainlanders and American officials. Any Taiwanese we met were on our own time. One afternoon the United States Embassy gave us a three-hour briefing in which it was maintained that the Taiwanese were content to be ruled by the mainlanders so long as the general economic prosperity continued. Furthermore, one official said that even if the Taiwanese had gotten political control over the island, they might not have been capable of self-rule. Living in Alabama, I have heard that line all too often.

It is common knowledge that outside of business the Taiwanese has no way to advance himself. He is excluded almost entirely from the highest ranks in government, education, and the armed services. In the city of Tapei, neighborhoods are segregated to such an extent that when one goes into the Taiwanese section, the natives speak their own dialect or even Japanese before they will speak mandarin, the language of mainlanders. Even the missionaries acknowledge the deep racial chasm. One Maryknoll father told me that they concentrated on converting Taiwanese while the Jesuits concentrate on the mainlanders because they are easier to convert. The few Taiwanese I met were afraid to broach the subject. One man told me, "Let's not talk about it. I once said the wrong thing to a general's wife and almost lost my job and maybe my life." His trembling voice told the story.

In the second place, Mr. Zeik discounts the rumors that the generalissimo's son, Chiang Ching-kuv, has made a deal with the mainland.

According to the story of a British reporter, after Chiang Kai-shek dies, Formosa will become an Autonomous Region of Communism still under Kuomintang control. The American Embassy dismisses the story, claiming that Chiang Ching-kuv is a good anti-Communist. However, China experts such as O. Edmund Clubb and Harold Hinton give credence to the story. Mr. Zeik says it was believed that the generalissimo was a Bolshevik in his early years. While this is not true, Chiang was not above making deals with the Russians out of expediency. After the Sino-Japanese war broke out in the summer of 1937, he signed a non-aggression pact with the Russians which also provided for aid. Incidentally, Edmund Clubb implies that it was Chiang Ching-kuv who interceded with the Russians on behalf of his father. It will be very interesting to see whether blood runs thicker than four billion dollars.

Finally, while Professor Zeik mentions the tremendous economic progress Taiwan has made, the gross national product and the per capita income statistics do not tell the full story. The gap between rich and poor was a shock to this middle-class American. In spite of intensive government campaigning, farmers still pick and plant rice by hand. In one pineapple factory we visited, the field hands make seven cents an hour. Even a full college professor makes only $62.50 in American money per month.

In addition, prostitution is not only legal but widespread. In the last two years grandiose hotels and second-rate night clubs have sprung up to accomodate the tourists and American GIs from Vietnam who visit for rest and recuperation. The fact that so many women chose prostitution indicates that no well-paying jobs are available to them. The whole problem must be extremely embarrassing to the government because reliable accounts from the mainland indicate that the Communists have almost completely wiped it out.

LAWRENCE H. MADARAS

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